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LIFE AND SPEECHES OF

CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS

Hon. Walter I. Smith,
With the cordial regards of,
Chas W. Fairbanks

Oct. 12. 1904

(Fairbanks)
Smith =
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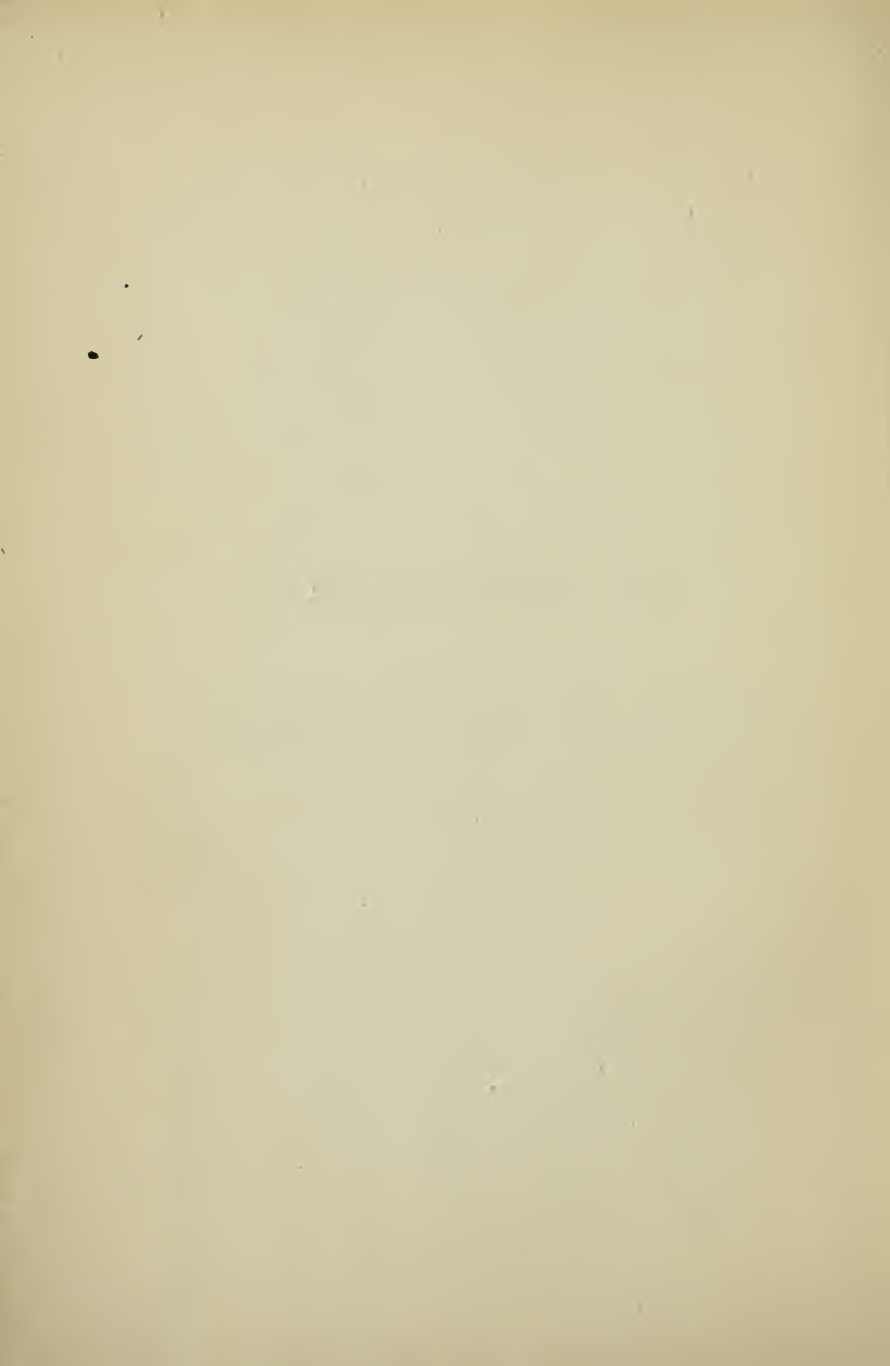


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LIFE AND SPEECHES

OF

CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS.



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Charles W. Fairbanks

THE LIFE AND SPEECHES

OF

HON. CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

BY

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH

Author of History of Indiana

INDIANAPOLIS

WM. B. BURFORD, PRINTER AND PUBLISHER

1904



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Kiehn 24 Aug. 1923

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY AND BOYHOOD.

AN industrious and toiling farmer's boy.
A hardworking college student.

An industrious press reporter.

A successful lawyer.

A safe and popular politician.

An able and distinguished Senator.

A wise and conscientious statesman.

The unanimous choice of a great political party for the second office in the nation.

Such, in brief, is the story of the life and achievements of Charles Warren Fairbanks.

Fifty-two years of active, busy life; no idle moments; no time for vacations; no time to waste. Always industrious, always a student, in his achievements he has again emphasized the possibilities that are before every American boy.

On the farm he gave the same earnest and careful labor he exhibited in pursuing his studies in college, to his work as a lawyer, to his duties in the Senate.

Never a self-seeker, his successes and his honors have come to him because of his native ability, his

industry, and his conscientious discharge of every duty, whether of private or public life.

He has not been without ambition, but his ambition has been to do the very best he could in everything, under the circumstances surrounding him. In school and in college he was ambitious to utilize every moment and gather all the knowledge he could in the time allotted to him. As a press reporter he was ambitious to give the best work possible; as a lawyer, to win an honorable success; as a politician, to aid his party by giving to the public through his speeches a just, fair-minded and honest exposition of public policy. In the Senate his ambition has been to give the country intelligent and enlightened service.

We live in a country where it is a delight to boast of our "self-made" men. Napoleon once said he was the first of his house, yet after all it is good to have forefathers, to come from a long line of ancestry distinguished for honesty and integrity, who lived honorable and upright lives, winning and holding the respect of their fellow-citizens. In one respect Charles Warren Fairbanks is a self-made man—that is, he has succeeded in life without the adventitious aid of wealth or of influential friends. He made his opportunities, having himself laid the foundation enabling him to seize on the opportunities when they came, but he can count a long line of ancestors who filled creditably the various stations in life to which they were called.

Among the yeomanry of England was a family of Fayerbancke. For generations they had been farmers, growing up into a sturdy love of liberty. They loved liberty of conscience as well as they loved civic liberty. They believed in God, and in man's accountability to God, and they became Puritans. With others of that way of thinking the Fayerbanckes suffered persecutions under the dominance of the Established church. There came a time when the commons of England were forced into a struggle with the King in defense of the liberties of the people. In that struggle the Fayerbanckes bore honorable service under Cromwell.

One day, only a few years after the town of Boston, Massachusetts, was settled, a ship from England came sailing into that port. Like all ships from England in those days, it brought to these shores a number of emigrants fleeing from the persecution at home, and who were seeking a land where they might serve God after the dictates of their own hearts. Probably none then thought of this being a land of liberty as we now view that term, but to them it was to be a land of liberty of the conscience, far away from the tyrannies and persecutions of an Established church.

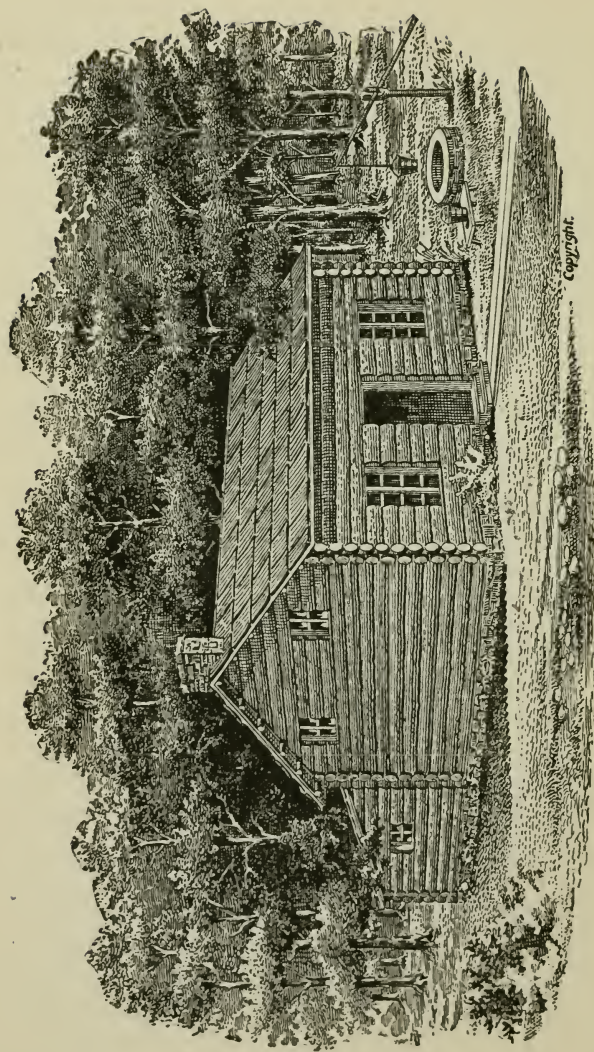
Among those on board of the ship that came sailing into Boston harbor on that day was Jonathan Fayerbancke, who, with his wife and four sons and two daughters, had left behind them the home that had

been that of their ancestors for generations, and had turned their faces to this land of liberty of conscience.

Jonathan Fayerbancke, like all the Puritans of his day, was a man of strong prejudices and of iron determination. There were some things about Boston he did not like, and he became one of the pioneers of the town of Dedham. The Puritans were professed believers in liberty of conscience, but in practice the liberty they permitted was only the liberty to believe what the congregation decided. The sturdy and independent character of Jonathan Fayerbancke prevented him from giving this absolute and unquestioning adhesion to the dictates of the congregation, and for a time he was not in good fellowship with his fellow-colonists. In the records of the church at Dedham is to be found this entry:

“Jonathan Fayerbancke, notwithstanding he has long stood off from ye church upon some scruples about publike p’fession of faith and ye covenant, yet after divers loving conferences with him, he made such a declaration of his faith and conversion to God and p’fession of subjection to ye ordinances of XT in this Xyt he was readily and gladly received by ye whole church 14d—6m.—1664.”

Charles Warren Fairbanks is the ninth in descent from the Jonathan Fayerbancke who settled in Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1636. He was born on a farm in Union county, Ohio, May 11, 1852. His



BIRTHPLACE OF CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS.

father, Loriston Monroe Fairbanks, was a native of Vermont, but before reaching manhood he removed to Massachusetts, and at Ware, in that State, worked in a woolen mill, but afterward emigrated to Union county, Ohio, to engage in farming. He returned to Ware and learned the wagon-making trade. He then again removed to Union county to engage in wagon-making, which he followed for several years. After his removal to Union county Mr. Fairbanks married Mary Adelaide Smith, whose family was among the early pioneers of Union county.

It was in a log house that Charles Warren first saw the light. Fifty years ago tilling the soil was not so easy as it is in these days of improved farm machinery, and the elder Fairbanks had a hard time to meet the expenses of his increasing family. As soon as he was old enough to assist in any way with the work of the farm, young Charles was assigned his tasks. The family was large, the land had to be paid for and the forests cleared, that the land might be cultivated, and the work had to be done by members of the family, so the young lad was trained to laborious service. There was little time for idleness had he been disposed to idle. The returns from the crops were limited, and frugality as well as toil was the lot of the family.

In no way was he different from the neighboring farmer boys, unless it was in a strong desire to obtain an education. In the evenings, and at other times

when released from the labors of the farm, he eagerly pursued his quest for knowledge. He read all the books he could obtain, and during the short sessions of the country schools he attended them. He early determined that if within the range of possibilities he would secure a collegiate education. In this craving for an education all the members of the family heartily sympathized, and his parents encouraged it. Thus, at the very outset of his life young Charles met with all the encouragement his family could give him in his aspirations.

The biographer delights to relate stories of the youthful life of his subject, and the people take an equal delight in reading incidents of the boyhood life of men who have become distinguished, on the theory, it is supposed, that "the boy is father to the man," but there are few incidents connected with the boyhood life of Mr. Fairbanks that would interest the reader. He was not bad, as boys go, nor was he especially good. He indulged in no wild pranks or escapades. On the farm he was industrious, and at school attentive to getting all he could from his books. He was not precocious, nor did he give any evidence of future greatness. Once only was his life in serious danger. It occurred when he was about four years of age. The carpenters were building a new frame house for the family, and were using the old log house as a workshop. Little Charles wandered into the old house where they had been at work. The

floor was littered with shavings, and the lad thought he would like to make a fire. He opened the door of the stove and undertook to thrust in a handful of the shavings. It was only a flash when the fire extended from the shavings he had thrust into the stove to the pile on the floor, and the room was ablaze. The flames were between him and the doorway, and how he finally escaped has been something of a mystery.

He was much more than ordinarily daring and courageous as a boy, and especially excelled in breaking and managing horses, and became an expert horseman while very young. On one occasion while attempting to ride an unruly colt he met with a serious accident, resulting in his receiving a broken arm. He persisted and conquered the colt. While still carrying his broken arm in a sling, he controlled and stopped a runaway team. He was fond of hunting and became an expert marksman, and is today what would be called a good shot. He joined in the neighborhood merrymakings, and was ever a welcome addition to every company of young people.

But in one very important respect in his case the boy was the father to the man, for his boyhood delight in study followed him, and he became a studious man. The sturdy integrity and honesty and the habits of labor of the boy have characterized the man. As a boy he learned to exert his best endeavors in whatever he undertook, and as a man that has

been his unchanging rule. In the country school and in college he put forth his best efforts to obtain knowledge; as the editor of his college paper he gave his best thought to what he wrote; as a press reporter he gave the same conscientious labor; as a lawyer, his clients got the best results of his studies, and in the public service he has always given the best he could.

At the age of fifteen he saw his way to enter college. He had saved up a few dollars, and with this meager sum, backed by good health, a frugal training and a determination to succeed, he was optimistic enough to see the end. His parents were not poor, but they were far from being rich, and it was a hard struggle on the farm to make both ends meet, so but little could be spared to send one of the boys to college. But young Charles was not to be deterred by any such difficulties.

Not far from his home was the Ohio Wesleyan University, at Delaware, Ohio, and to that institution he determined to go. A neighbor lad was equally ambitious for a collegiate education, and he, too, was poor. They conceived the idea of joining forces and thus making the burden easier on each one. They rented a small room near the University, and therein placed what little furniture they needed. A part of it, a table, a bookcase and a washstand, was made by Charles himself on the farm. Their parents, as often as they had opportunity, sent them supplies of provisions. There they roomed, and there they

studied. They did their own cooking and took care of their room. Their table was never luxuriously spread, but it was always ample. Their expenses, all told, amounted to only one dollar and fifty cents a week. In these days of athletic sports and intercollegiate excursions and fraternities young Fairbanks and his roommate would make a poor showing among their fellow-students, but perhaps it was best for them that their college days were days of adversity.

The meager sum of one dollar and fifty cents necessary for the week's expenses had to be earned, and Charles, who had learned on the farm the use of tools, became a carpenter's assistant, or did odd jobs of carpentering on Saturdays. He was not in college for play, and soon became known as one of the hardest working students in his class, yet when he found time for relaxation no one joined in the sports of the hour more heartily. His sunny temper and his cheerful and obliging disposition soon made him one of the most popular students in the University, while his studious habits and correct deportment made him a favorite with the faculty. He became one of the three editors of the college paper, by election from his class.

His college life, like that of his boyhood, was almost wholly devoid of those incidents that make readable stories in biography. In after life his classmates always spoke of him in terms of respect and affection, but could recall to mind little in the way of

incident. A short time ago the former room-mate of the Senator recalled how on one occasion they cut cordwood for a farmer, taking their pay in wood for their winter fuel.

There is, however, one little story that illustrates the trials he passed through. One day he and his room-mate engaged in a friendly struggle, when the only pair of trousers young Fairbanks possessed gave way under the strain. The damage done was beyond repair, and the procurement of new trousers became a necessity. The young student went to a clothing merchant and asked for credit, but it was denied him. There was one other dealer in ready-made clothing in the town, and to him Fairbanks at last applied. Here he met with a different reception, and the credit was readily extended. The merchant who was thus willing to aid a struggling college student is still doing business at Delaware, and since his old-time debtor has become a prominent man in the nation he frequently refers to the time when he trusted him for a pair of trousers.

Hon. H. D. Crow, of Washington, was a college mate of Mr. Fairbanks, and tells the following little story that exemplifies one of the characteristics of the Senator:

"Fairbanks went through college very young, graduating at twenty," said Mr. Crow. "He was a tall and slender youth, a good student and industrious, but not regarded as particularly brilliant. Two

young fellows named Locke and Jones, had been expelled from the college because they would not give information concerning some of their comrades' escapades. The entire student body met one afternoon to discuss the advisability of petitioning the faculty to restore them to their classes. There was considerable debate over the matter, which finally resolved itself into a fraternity fight.

"The debate had been between seniors chiefly and few of the juniors had ventured to express opinions. As the last speaker sat down someone addressed the chair from the ranks of the sophomores in the rear. There was a clamor of protest from the seniors and juniors. A tall, ungainly, awkward boy, with a voice that had not matured, stood quietly waiting for the recognition of the chair. His cool persistence won, and the chair recognized Fairbanks. No one knew what position he would take, for he was not a member of any of the fraternities. He made a plea in favor of restoring the two expelled members, not because they were or were not members of any society, but because it would be a kindly thing to do. That speech won the debate. The student body voted with Fairbanks.

"Mr. Fairbanks, some time after his speech, became a member of the Phi Gamma Delta fraternity, but he had no thought of doing so at the time he made his speech."

One who was with him in college says that in the

social gatherings there was none more genial or more welcome than young Fairbanks. "He was not only genial," says this writer, "but he was full of spirits, and in conversation most entertaining. His laugh was infectious. Possibly he would not have been called a brilliant student, but he certainly was remarkable for his grasp of all subjects and for his capacity to absorb knowledge. This is demonstrated by the fact that he crowded a six years' course into five years. On nearly every occasion when the students wanted one to speak for them young Fairbanks was chosen, he being regarded as a leader. At one time there was a difference between the faculty and the fraternities. Fairbanks was a member of the Phi Gamma Delta, and although there were students concerned who were both older in years and in length of membership, he was the chosen spokesman of the fraternities."

CHAPTER II.

SUCCESS AS A LAWYER.

YOUNG FAIRBANKS entered college a raw, country boy. He was tall, slim and strong. In 1872, when he left, being graduated with high honors, he was still tall and slim, but much of his shyness and awkwardness had been polished away. He had improved in his style of speech, but he retained his serious thoughts of life. He returned to the farm, but only temporarily. He had other views for life. He had stored his mind with the knowledge to be obtained from his schoolbooks, and from the teachings of his preceptors, and he desired to use that knowledge in a broader field than was offered by a life on a farm. The law was to be his chosen profession, and he went to work patiently, earnestly and persistently to prepare himself. He was through college but was out of money, and to study law more money had to be earned. The late William Henry Smith, a brother of his mother, was general manager of the Associated Press, and through him young Fairbanks was employed as an agent, first at Pittsburg and then at Cleveland. Engaged in the arduous labors of a press reporter, he applied the habits of industry he

had displayed in college, and utilized every possible hour in continuing his law studies. He attended one term at a law school in Cleveland, and in May, 1874, was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of Ohio.

At this time a strong temptation to enter politics came to him, but he refused. He said: "The practice of law is to be my life work, and I must first make my place in the profession sure. When that is done then I can afford to give my attention to politics." He was well aware that the game of politics is a fascinating one, and once entered upon is hard to break away from, yet its pursuit greatly militates against the fortunes of a young man, although he may be successful from a political standpoint, and he would not enter the game. He did not ignore politics, however, but carefully studied the great political problems of the day, and when a campaign was on gave some of his time to speechmaking for his chosen party. His first political speech was made in Union county, Ohio, before he was twenty-one years of age.

On October 6, 1874, after he was admitted to the bar, and after he had determined to make his future home in Indianapolis, he married Miss Cornelia Cole, who had been a student with him at Wesleyan University. When he was ready to enter the active practice of his profession the problem of where to locate was a serious one. His observation had

taught him that the best chances for success were to be found in a growing city. The bar in such a city might be well supplied in numbers of aspiring lawyers, and in ability, but he remembered the old adage, "there is always room at the top," so he determined to cast in his lot and begin his struggles in some growing city. The top was still far ahead of him, but he determined to reach it if patient, persistent work would take him there. After canvassing the whole field he finally decided on Indianapolis. It was a fortunate choice for him and for the State of Indiana.

Before deciding to make his home in Indianapolis he visited the city and readily saw its future possibilities. It was the capital city of a State that was rapidly growing in population, wealth, and commercial and political importance. The city itself was expanding. It was a great railroad center, and was becoming the center of vast manufacturing interests. Consequently such a place would be one where great legal interests would be involved, and he decided that it should be his future home.

On removing to Indianapolis he and his young wife occupied a modest home, for their means were restricted, and neither of them was disposed to make any ostentatious show or to live beyond their limited means. They felt hopeful that success would come, but the place of the husband at the bar was yet to be won. The fight to reach the top might be a very

hard one. They could not tell, but they were brave of heart and brave of hope. If conscientious labor, hard study, a strict attention to business and integrity of action could win success, they believed it was within their reach, for Mr. Fairbanks was patient, was a hard student, and was determined to give strict attention to his profession, and integrity of life and of purpose was his birthright from his parents.

He had a happy faculty of making friends, and with him once to make a friend was to hold a friend. Step by step he climbed up in his profession. At first clients came slowly, then they multiplied rapidly and success was assured. He won the esteem and respect of his fellows at the bar. When he entered on the trial of a case he gave it assiduous attention and close study, depending on the law and equity rather than upon any chicanery or tricks. In fact, he had nothing of those elements in his makeup. He never assailed the attorney or the litigant in opposition to him, but treated attorneys, litigant and the court with the utmost courtesy and respect.

In a very few years he had as wide and as lucrative a practice as any member of the Indianapolis bar, and for several years his emoluments from his law practice steadily grew, and there were but few lawyers anywhere in the United States with a more lucrative practice. His practice extended into many of the States, but was especially large in Ohio, Indiana and

Illinois. Much of it was connected with large transportation and corporate affairs. He had no practice in criminal matters. Neither his mind nor his reading ran toward criminal law, and he never tried but one criminal case. Increase of practice brought hard work, demanded more hours of study, and laborious research. He began with a well-grounded knowledge of the elementary principles of the law, but his practice soon required a thorough knowledge of the statute law of many of the States, as also of the laws of other countries.

Much of his practice was before the Federal courts, and he had to meet and contend against many of the most prominent lawyers of the country. He began with a very modest library, consisting of a few volumes only, but they had been chosen with great care. When he entered the United States Senate he possessed one of the largest and most valuable libraries in the West.

His success in his profession was not, in one sense of the word, phenomenal, but came from his thorough training, his close and conscientious attention to business, and his faculty for making friends. It was the result of a determined and set purpose. When he entered the United States Senate it was at a great pecuniary sacrifice, for, having accepted office at the hands of the people, he determined to give to their service the same conscientious attention he had given to his profession, and to do that he must be prepared

to give all his time; so he at once retired from the practice of the law. In his youth, when tempted to enter politics he had refused, saying that he must first win a place in his profession, so that if he failed in politics he would be sure to have something to fall back upon; second, he must accumulate a competence for himself and his family. Having succeeded in both these directions, when the people called for his services he could give them his undivided time and attention.

It would be pleasant to indulge in reminiscences and fill a few pages with anecdotes connected with his legal practice, tell of great and signal triumphs he won over distinguished and able counsel, but the reader can not be indulged in that respect. He won notable triumphs, it is true, but they were won by a thorough preparation of his case and an intimate knowledge of the law. He knew the law, and "the tricks of the law," but never indulged in the tricks, and only used his knowledge of them to prevent himself being tricked by an opposing attorney. He never had any startling cases, but he did have cases in which vast interests were involved, and they were presented to the court or to the jury without any startling complications. Hence he was better known to the bar and to the bench than to the general public. His practice led him into an acquaintance with many of the distinguished men of the nation, and he won their friendship and confidence. In this he found one of the elements of his later success in politics.

CHAPTER III.

HE ENTERS POLITICS.

AS HIS success at the bar increased, and as his position in the profession became fixed, he felt that he could give more time to politics. He had been a student of politics. He had given careful study to all the great political problems of the day, to the political history of the country, and to the policies advocated by the various political parties, so that when he was ready to enter the political field it was as a well-equipped warrior. He had, at various times during political campaigns, made a few speeches, and had impressed himself on the leaders of his party in Indiana, so that his advice and counsel were sought, but it was not until 1888 that he took any active part in the management or direction of party politics.

Among the early professional friendships he formed was one with the late Walter Q. Gresham, who was Judge of the United States Court for the district of Indiana when Mr. Fairbanks began the practice in Indianapolis. This personal friendship remained unbroken until the death of Mr. Gresham,

and that friendship had much to do with the entering into active politics by Mr. Fairbanks.

In 1888 Indiana had two distinguished sons who were talked of as possible candidates for the Presidency—Benjamin Harrison and Walter Q. Gresham. To decide between the two placed more than one citizen of Indiana in a quandary, but not so with Mr. Fairbanks. Ever fair and open in his professional life, he determined to be equally open and fair in his adherence to the political fortunes of any man. He was a friend of General Harrison, and admired his lofty character and great qualities. He had often met him in legal battles, and knew full well his great abilities as a lawyer. He had heard his speeches on great political occasions, and had watched his career in the Senate, and fully appreciated his grasp of matters of political policy and statecraft. He knew that if General Harrison should be exalted to the high office of President of the Republic the administration of the affairs of the nation would be marked with high ability; but against all this was the personal affection he had for Judge Gresham, inspired, first, by the kindly consideration of the eminent Judge to a young and struggling lawyer, and increased by the wonderfully fascinating personality of Mr. Gresham. Had he not believed that Judge Gresham possessed all the qualifications to make him a great President and a safe head for the nation, these personal considerations would not have weighed with him.

As it was, he instantly made up his mind to support Judge Gresham, but in pursuance of the policy that he had always followed, he wrote to General Harrison a letter stating the reasons that led him to support the candidacy of the Judge. It was a fair, candid, open statement of one friend to another, but one that is not often found in political life. One of the most cherished possessions of Senator Fairbanks is the reply of General Harrison. The reply is as follows:

“Washington, May 11, 1888.

“C. W. Fairbanks, Esq., Indianapolis, Ind.:

“My Dear Sir—Your kind letter of the 8th has been received. I assure you that your frank declaration of your preference for Judge Gresham can not in the smallest degree affect our friendly relations. I am not one of those who have no friends who are not followers. It has been my wish, and my efforts have been with my wish, to suppress all divisions of a personal character in the party in Indiana. So far as I could I have restrained my friends, but, as Judge G. has himself found out, that is not always possible. I feel sure that you will know how to advocate his claims without unkindness to me.

“Very truly yours,

“BENJ. HARRISON.”

Mr. Fairbanks took charge of the Gresham campaign for delegates in Indiana. All the old party

leaders and the whole party machinery were for General Harrison, whose candidacy was supported by nearly all of the Republican papers of the State. General Harrison finally got the delegation from the State, but it was only after one of the hottest fights ever known in a State where political battles are proverbially warm. Notwithstanding he failed to get any of the delegates from Indiana, Judge Gresham determined to contest for the nomination at Chicago. The Republican convention of 1888 was one of the notable gatherings of that party. James G. Blaine was the brilliant leader of the Republican party, and he had many friends who were bent on making him once more the standard-bearer, notwithstanding he had declared that his name must not go before the convention. Sherman, Allison, Depew, Alger, Harrison and Gresham were before the convention, but the Blaine cloud overshadowed the whole. All of the Chicago papers were for Judge Gresham.

In marshaling the Gresham forces Mr. Fairbanks displayed wonderful skill in the handling of men. Suave and pleasant with everyone, listening to all suggestions, nevertheless he kept his own counsels. He displayed prodigious activity, yet never appeared to be hurried. He refused to join in the attacks made on General Harrison, and did what he could to discourage them, especially those made in regard to the General's attitude on the labor question. He talked to newspaper reporters, to edi-

tors, gave them suggestions, but never divulged his plans. He was always ready to make combinations, but would not make any to which a bargain was attached. He carefully avoided saying or doing anything that might by any possibility be distorted into a promise to bind his chief. He had a corps of effective lieutenants and to them divulged just enough of his plans to put them to intelligent and earnest work. He kept them busy, and when the convention opened it looked as if he would be able to nominate his candidate on one of the early ballots.

On the first ballot Sherman led and Gresham was second. It was well known that Sherman had polled on that first ballot all the strength he could command, and it was thought he could not hold his followers, but he did. The uncertain factor all the time was the position the Blaine men would finally take. The Blaine leaders hoped the convention would tire itself out in a vain effort to nominate and would then turn to the "Plumed Knight." They gave up this hope at last, and then they went to Harrison and he was nominated on the eighth ballot. Among the first to send the successful candidate congratulations on his victory was Mr. Fairbanks, who returned to Indiana and at once tendered his services to the General and to the Republican committee. There were those who advocated ignoring Mr. Fairbanks and the other Gresham adherents in Indiana, but General Harrison put a quietus on it by saying that a man who had

shown the political skill and forcefulness of Mr. Fairbanks could not be ignored with impunity.

Judge Gresham had many lovable traits of character, and those traits made his friends devoted to him. Mr. Fairbanks was a young man when he first made the acquaintance of Judge Gresham. He was just starting out in his profession, and on more than one occasion the Judge exhibited for him such a kindly consideration that he at once won the heart of the young attorney. In 1903, nearly twenty years after his first meeting with Judge Gresham, Mr. Fairbanks was called upon to deliver an address at the unveiling of a portrait of the Judge in the United States court-room in Springfield, Illinois. In the course of the address he paid the following tribute to the memory of his friend:

“He delighted in aiding the young. No man with the same opportunities ever did more than he to help young men get on in the world. He saw in others the struggles of his own youth, and he was ever ready to serve them in every possible way. The lawyer, when entering upon his professional career, when possessed of doubts as to his cases, and filled with discouragement, always found a sympathetic friend in the generous-hearted and noble Judge.” The young attorney, with a good cause, but overmatched by an older and more resourceful antagonist, found upon the bench help and sympathy. How far goes a helpful word in time of need to the beginner at the bar.

"He was a just judge in the fullest and best sense. He came from the great body of the people and was always in touch with them. He possessed none of the elements of the demagogue. He was always natural; never sought nor pretended to be what God had not made him. He never tried to veneer his true character, or to obscure it by cheap or meretricious arts.

"He was simple and modest in his habits; frank and candid. There was nothing meteoric in him. He pressed forward, meeting the duties of the hour as he found them; discharging them faithfully, conscientiously and well.

"He was on terms with men of all conditions. He met them upon a common level. There was that subtle element in him which invited the confidence of all. The weak and the powerful alike saw the true nobility of his character and held him in like respect. The lowly were not overawed and the high were properly deferential."

Mr. Fairbanks threw himself heart and soul into the work of electing Mr. Harrison President. In other campaigns he had made an occasional speech, but he now engaged actively in that work, and almost at once established his right to hold a first place among the political orators of Indiana. He was well equipped for the work, as he had made a careful study of political policies and of the demands of the nation. One thing was noticeable from the very be-

ginning of his speech-making career—his complete avoidance of personal detraction and vituperative language. He tried at once, so far as his voice and example could go, to lift party politics from the low marsh of detraction and corruption up to the high plane of reason and argument. In all the speeches he has ever made—and they have been many—not one word of abuse of a political opponent or of the opposing party can be found. He always speaks of everybody with courtesy and kindness. This trait of character was early noticed by his opponents, and it is to be said to the credit of political controversy in Indiana that no speaker of the opposing party has ever uttered one word of detraction of Mr. Fairbanks. His entire attitude is exemplified by the following extract from his remarks at the memorial service of the late William Holman:

“He raised his standard of exalted duty in public place, and to it remained inflexibly true. He was possessed of superb moral courage, and his purpose once set, he was immovable. The stock from which he came was strong, rugged. It laid the broad foundation for a mighty empire of wealth, of power, of intelligence in the great Mississippi Valley. He was a type of which there are too few.

“Mr. President, we reluctantly retire from the contemplation of a character so illustrious in achievement and devotion to the service of his countrymen. He has richly earned the ‘Well done, thou good and

faithful servant,' and the repose which crowns an honest life."

It may be granted that many of the eulogiums pronounced in Congress are perfunctory, but all who know Mr. Fairbanks will readily credit him with being sincere in this commendation of the life and services of a political opponent. With Mr. Fairbanks life has been too serious for him to utter sentiments foreign to his heart.

His campaign work for General Harrison was of a very high order, and had much to do with carrying Indiana for the Republican ticket that year. His manners were popular and he rapidly extended his acquaintance with the party leaders of the State. His ability as a speaker was at once recognized and his services were in demand. With him it was no grudging service. He had been defeated at the Chicago convention, but General Harrison was his friend, and he felt that he would fill the exalted station to the honor of the nation. And, too, he believed in the policy of the Republican party, and that its triumph was for the best interests of the country. His zeal for the party was strengthened by his zeal for his personal friend and fellow-townsmen.

It was not alone in speech-making that his influence was felt in that campaign, but his counsels to the managers were wise and his suggestions always prudent. The managers never made a mistake when they followed his advice. He had become a power

in the party councils, and that power has grown continuously with each campaign.

From 1888 Mr. Fairbanks has been one of the leaders of his party in Indiana. No step has been taken by the party that he has not been consulted on, and it may be added that for some years no step has been taken against his advice, so fully has the party come to depend upon his political sagacity. The campaign of 1890 was a disastrous one to the Republicans of Indiana. The McKinley bill had just gone into operation, but its provisions were not thoroughly understood, and the tide turned strongly against the administration, but Mr. Fairbanks labored in season and out of season, and was ever found in the forefront of the battle. His services were in constant demand. The calls on him for speeches were so many that he could not fill all of them. His popularity and strength as a campaign speaker rapidly increased. The tide was too strong, however, and the party went down to defeat. The party thus early began to regard him as excellent senatorial timber, whenever the time should come that the Republicans would have the power to elect one.

The campaign of 1892 opened with a struggle between the friends of Blaine and those of Harrison for the nomination. Even in Indiana there was some dissatisfaction with President Harrison, but it was not strong enough to effect anything. The Republican National Convention met at Minneapolis. Mr.

Fairbanks was present, a strong advocate of the renomination of President Harrison. He was one of those who engineered the famous meeting of the Harrison delegates the night before the convention, at which it was easily demonstrated Harrison would be renominated on the first ballot. The friendship between the President and Mr. Fairbanks had increased during the four years from 1888, and Mr. Harrison had been taught to regard the future Senator as one of his safest political advisers.

The political battle of 1892 was one of the fiercest ever fought in Indiana. For a number of years Indiana was looked upon as a doubtful State, and was controlled first by one party and then by the other. Again Mr. Fairbanks was one of the leaders, and his voice was heard in almost every part of the State. He was one of the most industrious of the many speakers the State had. During the short intervals when he would be at Indianapolis he was in close consultation with the State committee, counseling, advising and suggesting new moves on the enemy. It was a period of political unrest. The lowering clouds of financial and commercial depression were already gathering, and in Indiana the party was somewhat torn by factions. Large numbers who had hoped for Federal appointments under Harrison had been disappointed. All these things combined to make the fight a hard one.

It was under these conditions the Republicans of

Indiana made preparations to put a State ticket in the field, and began to consider which one of its orators would be the best to make the opening speech outlining the issues, or, as is so often said in politics, "deliver the keynote." It was readily recognized that no mistake must be made in this "keynote" speech. The unanimous choice of the leaders was Mr. Fairbanks, and when the convention met he was made its chairman, and in a speech of cogent reasoning and great power he clearly outlined the issues that divided the two great parties, upholding the administration of General Harrison and clearly pointing out the disasters that would follow a change in the policies of the government. The tariff was one of the principal issues, and he discussed that question at some length, contrasting the condition of business under the tariff law of the Cleveland administration and the McKinley bill of Harrison's. The opening paragraph of the speech was peculiarly striking:

"For thirty years," he said, "the Republican party has stood in the 'white light that beats against the throne,' and its record is flawless. There is no one who admires courage and steadfastness in the cause of good government who does not admire the Republican party. . . . Its history is so full of deeds of vast and vital moment, I would weary you if I attempted a recital of them."

At that time the free coinage of silver, that culminated in 1896, was just looming up. The Demo-

cratic party was not yet ready to put itself on record in favor of the coinage at the ratio of sixteen to one, but it was seen that matters were drifting in that direction, and Mr. Fairbanks sounded a warning note and boldly announced the attitude of the Republican party on the question. This was four years before the party in its national convention declared for a gold standard. Among other things Mr. Fairbanks said:

“The Republican party stands for a sound, honest dollar. It has always opposed an unstable and debased currency. The all-important element in the circulating medium is that it be of stable value. On this the Republican party stands.”

He gave much consideration to State issues, contrasting the administration of the two parties. This speech was circulated by the committee as a campaign document. Mr. Fairbanks was the great pacificator during that campaign, using all his powers of persuasion to harmonize the factions, stir up the lukewarm, and give courage to the doubtful. He did effective and faithful work, but once more the tide turned to the enemy. He made many speeches, canvassing nearly the entire State. President Harrison recognized the value of his services, and after the conclusion of the campaign warmly thanked him, and the friendship between the two received a new bond.

When Mr. Fairbanks began the practice of the

law in Indianapolis Mr. Harrison was the leader of the bar, and two years later was the Republican candidate for Governor of the State. His great abilities and sterling character at once impressed Mr. Fairbanks, and he took his place in the ranks of Harrison's warm admirers. His estimate of the character and public services of General Harrison is shown by extracts from a number of speeches delivered by him. As Chairman of the Indiana Republican Convention of 1892 Mr. Fairbanks, in his opening speech, said:

"You do well to cheer that name [Harrison]. It stands for pure and exalted statesmanship. No other has done more to place our State high in the estimation and the admiration of the world."

When General Harrison returned to Indianapolis at the close of his term as President, the citizens gave him a reception. Mr. Fairbanks was chosen to make the welcoming address. In the course of it he said:

"You have taught obedience to law, a higher respect for our American institutions. You have inspired a deeper reverence for the sacred emblem of our national authority. . . . Your administration was of the highest purpose, persisted in to the end; it has been without a stain; the most malignant tongue can lodge against it no word of reproach."

In 1898, at a banquet in Quebec, Canada, in re-

sponse to the toast "The President of the United States," Mr. Fairbanks said:

"Then came Harrison, of my own State—Benjamin Harrison, who brought to that great office a genius for statesmanship and a devotion to the public service that ranks him among the greatest who have held that high office."

It was during the campaign of 1892 that Mr. Fairbanks first met Mr. McKinley, and **then** began the friendship that existed between the two men. Mr. McKinley was in Indiana taking part in the campaign, and on several occasions the two distinguished orators spoke from the same platform. Each recognized the ability of the other, and on one occasion the future President said: "Fairbanks, you ought to be in the Senate." Had the Republicans succeeded in Indiana he would have been in the Senate. But his time was not yet.

The campaign of 1894 opened with brighter prospects for the Republican party. It was a time of great business depression, and thousands of workmen were out of employment. A financial panic had greatly demoralized business everywhere, and the Democratic administration had the burden of blame to bear. There was also a very decided and growing dissatisfaction with Mr. Cleveland in his own party. Indiana was beginning to feel the good effects of the natural gas boom when the business depression struck the country, and the "gas belt" felt the blow

in a marked degree. All these things made thousands of Democrats lukewarm, and other thousands turn to the Republican party for relief. In Indiana the Republicans entered upon the campaign with high hopes and great enthusiasm. They felt from the beginning that it was to be their year. As usual, Mr. Fairbanks took the leading part in the campaign. By this time his fame as a campaign speaker had passed the boundary of Indiana, and he received many invitations from other States. He renewed his acquaintance with Mr. McKinley, and again they took part together in campaign work. It was a glorious year for the Republican party in Indiana, and they swept the State, electing a State ticket and every member of Congress, and once more obtained control of the Legislature. This campaign greatly added to the popularity and strength of Mr. Fairbanks. By this time he had spoken in every county in the State. He carried into his political work the same suave and kindly manner that had so distinguished him at the bar. He was of the people, mingled with the people. There was nothing of the demagogue about him, but he was always hearty and earnest in his greetings. He had no bitter antagonisms among his political opponents. In later years he announced in the Senate his creed as to political differences, in his memorial address in respect to Mr. Holman, when he said:

“Political parties are undivided as to purpose—the highest and best welfare of the country; their dif-

ferences arise as to the best method of obtaining the end."

It was in this spirit he discussed the political questions of the day, and he always commanded a respectful and attentive hearing.

CHAPTER IV.

ENTERS NATIONAL POLITICS.

FOR eight years he had been a potent factor in Indiana politics, and had taken a leading part in four hotly contested campaigns, and the time had now arrived when he was to become an active and potential factor in national political affairs. Another Presidential election was on, and the people were beginning to array themselves for the contest. In the four years since he had made his memorable speech at Fort Wayne, wherein he declared the Republican party always had been and always would be for an honest dollar, a stable currency, the march of events had been rapid. The advocates of free silver coinage had been especially active and the financial heresy had spread over all the country, and it became a living issue.

In Indiana it had strongly tainted the Republicans, especially in the rural districts. The free silver men had been proselyting everywhere. It was readily seen that if the Republican party was to succeed, this drifting away from the old moorings by members of the party must be checked, yet there

was a great danger in running contrary to the current. Mr. Fairbanks was one of those who saw the danger to the country in this financial heresy; he saw the ruin to the nation's credit, the disaster that would come to the great business interests of the country if free coinage became a part of the policy of the Government. He was courageous enough to step into the breach, and sagacious enough to see that if his party would take a firm stand for honest money the people would sustain it.

Before the assembling of the Indiana Republican Convention certain parts of the platform were portioned out among the leaders of the party for the preparation of the proper declaration. To Mr. Fairbanks was assigned the preparation of the financial plank, and when the leaders met for consultation he offered the following:

"We are firm and emphatic in our demand for honest money. We believe that our money should not be inferior to the money of the most enlightened nations of the earth. We are unalterably opposed to every scheme that threatens to debase our currency. We favor the use of silver as currency, but to the extent only and under such regulations that its parity with gold can be maintained; and, in consequence, are opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one."

It at once met with strong opposition, and several who admitted it was the correct principle expressed

grave fears of the result, believing that such a pronounced declaration would alienate all of the Republican adherents of free silver, but Mr. Fairbanks stood firm. He reasoned and argued, holding that the only safe course was for the Republican party to stand consistent with its past record; that it must not stultify itself by a retreat from the position it had always taken in favor of an honest dollar, saying that he would rather go down to defeat than for one instant to fall from the high standard the party had always maintained; that all admitted that free coinage would be ruinous if adopted, and the Republican party must not give the least countenance to any policy that would bring financial ruin or throw discredit on the integrity of the Government.

He won, and the plank was incorporated in the platform, but one of the leading candidates on the ticket remarked: "It is brave, it is right; but I shall prepare to be snowed under."

Mr. McKinley was a leading candidate for the Presidential nomination, and Mr. Fairbanks took charge of his campaign in Indiana and handled it with such skill and finesse that every district in the State declared for the Ohio man, Mr. Fairbanks being named as one of the delegates-at-large. The financial stand of the party in Indiana attracted consideration in all parts of the country, and it called attention to Mr. Fairbanks. Mr. McKinley sent for him and requested him to accept the temporary chairmanship of the convention.

When the Convention met at St. Louis, Mr. Fairbanks was named as the temporary Chairman, and delivered the speech as requested by Mr. McKinley. The speech was a very able one, and completely covered all the issues before the country, and it so well fits the conditions of today that it is here reproduced:

“Gentlemen of the Convention—I am profoundly grateful for this expression of your generous confidence. As citizens we were never called upon to discharge a more important duty than that which rests upon us—the nomination of a President and Vice-President of the United States. This duty is a very impressive one at the moment, for it is already written in the Book of Fate that the choice of this convention will be the next President and Vice-President of this great Republic.

“Three years of Democratic administration have been three years of panic, of wasted energy, of anxiety and loss to the American people, without a parallel in our history. Today the people turn to the Republican party hopefully, confidently, and it is for us to meet their expectations; it is for us to give them those candidates upon whom their hearts have centered, and to give them clear, straightforward, emphatic expression of our political faith. The Republican party is a party of convictions; and it has written its convictions in the history of the Republic with the pen and the sword; with it the supreme question always has been not what is merely politic,

but what is 'everlastingly right.' The great men we have given to the Nation and to history, the mighty dead and the illustrious living, are our inspiration and tower of strength. If we are but true to their exalted example, we can not be false to our countrymen.

"For a third of a century prior to the advent of the present Democratic administration we operated under laws enacted by the Republican party. All great measures concerning the tariff and the currency originated with it. Tariff laws were formed upon lines which protected our laborers and producers from unequal and unjust foreign competition, and upon the theory that the best market in the world is the home market and that it should be enjoyed by our own countrymen.

"Under the currency laws our currency was made national. The wildcat State bank money of the Democratic party was wiped out of existence. The unprecedented demands growing out of the war were met by a paper currency which ultimately became as good as gold. Since the resumption of specie payment in 1879 every dollar of our money, paper, silver and gold, has been of equal purchasing power the world over. The policy of the party has been to make and keep our currency equal to the best in the world.

"Under the operation of these honest tariff and honest money Republican laws the country grew in

wealth and power beyond precedent. We easily outstripped all other powers in the commercial race. In November, 1892, there was work for every hand and bread for every mouth. We reached high-water mark. Labor received higher wages than ever, and capital was profitably and securely employed. The national revenues were sufficient to meet our obligations and leave a surplus in the treasury. Foreign and domestic trade were greater in volume and value than they had ever been. Foreign balances were largely in our favor. European gold was flowing toward us. But all of this is changed. The cause is not hard to find. A reaction began when it was known that the legislative and executive branches of the Government were to be Democratic.

“The Democratic party had at Chicago condemned the protective tariff principle as unconstitutional, and solemnly pledged itself to the overthrow and destruction of the McKinley law and to the adoption of free trade as the policy of the United States. This bold, aggressive attack upon the long-settled policy of the Republican party bore its natural fruit in shaken confidence and unsettled business, and we were soon drifting against the rock of destruction.

“Before the work of demolition was actually begun a run was started upon the treasury reserve which the Republican party had wisely accumulated for the protection of the national credit. The drain upon the reserve for the redemption of greenbacks and

treasury notes greatly surpassed all prior experience and emphasized the discredit into which the Democratic administration had fallen. An utter want of confidence in the administration possessed the people.

"The Democratic party was harmonious on one subject, and that was the destruction of the McKinley law. But when they came to the exercise of the creative faculty, the enactment of a great revenue measure in its stead, there was discord. The imperiled interests of the country watched and waited through long and anxious months for some settlement of the important question. They wanted an end of uncertainty.

"At length the Wilson bill was adopted, and it was characterized by a Democratic President as the child of 'perfidy and dishonor.' It was so bad that he would not contaminate his hand by signing it. A bill that is too base for Mr. Cleveland to approve is too base for the approval of the American people.

"This important law was wanting in the primary purpose of a revenue measure, for it failed to provide adequate revenue to meet the requirements of the Government. The deficiency thus far amounts to some \$150,000,000. The end is not yet, for the deficiency grows day by day. This leaves the treasury and the public credit in constant peril. Our foreign credit is impaired and domestic capital feels insecure. The sectional favoritism of the Wilson bill was one of its marked features. Its blow at sheep

husbandry was an unpardonable offense. It was a flagrant wrong to the farmers of the United States. This great industry had developed and grown under Republican protective laws until it was one of our greatest. We are now sending abroad millions of dollars for wool which were paid to our farmers under the McKinley law.

“The bill struck down reciprocity, one of the highest achievements of American statesmanship. No measure was ever enacted which more directly advanced the interests of American farmers than reciprocity. With its destruction fell advantageous commercial agreements, under which their products were surely finding larger and profitable foreign markets, and without the surrender of their own.

“The substitution of ad valorem for specific duties has opened the way for systematic wholesale frauds upon the treasury and producers and employers of the country. By means of under-valuations foreign goods pass through the customhouses without paying their just tribute to the treasury of the United States. Thus we have lost millions of dollars in revenues, and the foreign producers have been enabled to unfairly possess our home markets.

“Neither time nor place will permit further reference to the unfortunate revenue legislation of the Democratic party, nor to the hurtful, demoralizing effect of it. Suffice it to say it has been the great and original factor in breaking down confidence and

progress, emptying the treasury, causing continued deficits and enforced idleness among millions of willing workers.

“To meet the monthly deficits and protect our credit and save the Government from protest the President has been forced to sell bonds—in other words, he has been obliged to mortgage the future in a time of peace to meet the current obligations of the Government.

“This is a sharp contrast with the Republican record. Our tariff laws not only raised revenue, but they protected our domestic industries; they impartially protected the farmer and the manufacturer, both north and south. Not only that, but they raised sufficient revenue to gradually reduce the public debt, and without imposing a grievous burden upon the people. During the administration of Harrison \$236,000,000 of obligations were paid, while Cleveland, during the last three years, has added to our interest-bearing debt \$262,000,000. Against such Democratic financiering the Republican party enters its emphatic protest.

“Having attempted to reverse the tariff policy of the United States with such lamentable results, the Democratic party now proposes to reverse the currency policy. It turns to the currency as the parent of our ills. Its effort to shift the responsibility will deceive no one. Its attack upon the tariff, its record of inefficiency and insincerity, is a part of the unfortunate history of the Republic.

"The present currency system is the fruit of Republican wisdom. It has been adequate to all our past necessities, and, if uncorrupted, will meet our future requirements. Our greatest prosperity was attained when Republican currency laws were in full operation. When the Republican party was in power, our currency was good; it was made as good as the best on the globe. We made sound money, and we also made an honest protective tariff to go with it. Sound money and an honest protective tariff go hand in hand, together; not one before the other.

"The very foundation of a sound currency system is a solvent treasury. If the people doubt the integrity of the treasury, they will question the soundness of the currency. Recognizing this fundamental fact, the Republican party always provided ample revenue for the treasury.

"When in the last half-century of our history did the Democratic party advocate a financial policy that was in the best interests of the American people? Look at its ante-bellum currency record. Consider its hostility to the currency rendered necessary by the exigency of the war; and later, its effort to inflate the currency in a time of peace by the issue of greenbacks." Witness its opposition to the efforts of the Republican party to resume specie payments. But four short years ago it declared for the return of the old, discredited State bank currency.

“The Republican party has not been unfriendly to the proper use of silver. It has always favored, and favors today, the use of silver as a part of our circulating medium, but it favors that use under such provisions and safeguards as shall not imperil our present national standard. The policy of the Republican party is to retain both gold and silver as a part of our circulating medium, while the policy of free coinage of silver leads to certain silver monometallism. It is an immutable law that two moneys of unequal value will not circulate together, and the poorer always drives out the better.

“The Republican party, desiring fairly to secure a larger use of silver, pledged itself in favor of an international agreement. Harrison, true to the pledge of his party, took the initiatory steps and invited an international monetary conference at Brussels, at which the subject of an international coinage agreement was ably and profitably discussed.

“The Democratic party was also committed to international bimetallism, but when it came into power the work which had been so auspiciously begun by the Republican party was abandoned. It was so absorbed in its efforts to break down the McKinley law and empty the treasury that it had no time to promote international bimetallism.

“Those who profess to believe that this Government can, independently of the other great commercial Powers, open its mints to the free and independ-

ent coinage of silver at a ratio of sixteen to one, and at the same time not drive every dollar of gold out of circulation, but deceive themselves.

“Great and splendid and powerful as our Government is, it can not accomplish the impossible. It can not create value. It has not the alchemist’s subtle art of transmuting unlimited silver into gold, nor can it, by omnipotent fiat, make fifty cents worth one hundred cents. As well undertake by resolution of Congress to suspend the laws of gravitation as attempt to compel an unlimited number of fifty-cent dollars to circulate with one-hundred-cent dollars at a parity with each other. An attempt to compel unlimited dollars of such unequal value to circulate at a parity is bad in morals and vicious in policy. Sound thinkers upon the great question of the currency know from the beginning of the experiment how miserably and certainly it would fail. The commerce of the country would again be thrown upon the sea of uncertainty, and the specter of want would continue to haunt us for years to come.

“Upon opening our mints to the independent free coinage of silver foreign credits would be withdrawn and domestic credits would be greatly curtailed. More than this, there would be a certain and sudden contraction of our currency by the expulsion of \$620,000,000 of gold, and our paper and silver currency would instantly and greatly depreciate in purchasing power. But one result would follow this:

Enterprise would be further embarrassed, business demoralization would be increased, and still further and serious injury would be inflicted upon the laborers, the farmers, the merchants, and all those whose welfare depends upon a wholesome commerce.

“A change from the present standard to the low silver standard would cut down the recompense of labor; reduce the value of the savings in savings banks and building and loan associations; salaries and incomes would shrink; pensions would be cut in two; the beneficiaries of life insurance would suffer; in short, the injury would be so universal and far reaching that a radical change can be contemplated only with the gravest apprehension.

“A sound currency is one of the essential instruments in developing our commerce. It is the purpose of the Republican party not only to develop our domestic trade, but to extend our commerce into the uttermost parts of the earth. We should not begin our contest for commercial supremacy by destroying our currency standard. All the leading powers with which we must compete suspended the free coinage of silver when the increased production of silver forced the commercial value of silver below the coinage ratio to gold. Shall we ignore their ripened experience? Shall we attempt what they have found utterly impossible? Shall it be said that our standard is below theirs?

“You can not build prosperity upon a debased or

fluctuating currency; as well undertake to build upon the changing sands of the sea.

"A sound currency defrauds no one. It is good alike in the hands of the employe and the employer, the laborer and the capitalist. Upon faith in its worth, its stability, we go forward planning for the future. The capitalist erects his factories, acquires his materials, employs his artisans, mechanics and laborers. He is confident his margin will not be swept away by fluctuations in the currency. The laborer knows that the money earned by his toil is as honest as his labor, and that it is of unquestioned purchasing power. He likewise knows that it requires as much labor to earn a poor dollar as a good one; and he also knows that if poor money is abroad it surely finds its way into his pocket."

The speech was widely circulated throughout the country, and had great influence. Major John W. Carson, dean of the Washington correspondents, lately wrote as follows of the effect of the speech:

"Fairbanks was placed at the head of the Indiana delegation to the St. Louis Convention and was made temporary chairman of that body, delivering a speech that attracted wide attention and contributed to fixing the status of the party on the money question. That convention declared against the free coinage of silver, and it was largely due to the persistent efforts of Mr. Fairbanks and a few other sagacious and conservative men that that declaration was made. It

has been claimed that the action of the Indiana Republican State Convention in 1896 had a very salutary influence on the Republican National Convention of the same year in declaring for the gold standard."

On the money question the convention gave its emphatic endorsement to the speech of Mr. Fairbanks and to the attitude of the Republicans of Indiana in the following plank of the platform:

"The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payment in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and, until such agreement can be obtained, *the existing gold standard must be preserved*. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth."

Mr. McKinley was nominated and there followed one of the memorable campaigns of history. The

Democratic party declared in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, and also bitterly assailed the integrity of the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Fairbanks' speech at the St. Louis Convention attracted the attention of the party leaders everywhere to him, and his services were at once demanded in all parts of the country. It was a strange campaign, every party but the Republican being divided. The broad declaration of the Democratic Convention in favor of free silver did not meet the approval of the entire party; there was an open revolt against it, and a sound money Democratic ticket was put in the field. Even such minor parties as the Prohibitionists and the Populists divided and each had two tickets. Hundreds of prominent Democrats announced their purpose to save the country from the disasters of free silver by voting for the Republican candidates. In Indiana there were a large number of these sound money Democrats.

Mr. Fairbanks returned from St. Louis and at once addressed himself to the task of making good his predictions that Indiana could be carried on a sound money platform. He took part in the management of the campaign, and he made an active and complete canvass of the State. He spent his days and nights in traveling and speech-making, and in consulting with members of the party in all sections.

CHAPTER V.

HIS SERVICES TO HIS PARTY.

THE result of the campaign was a notable victory for the Republican party. The Legislature being Republican, all eyes at once turned toward Fairbanks for Senator, and all hearts declared the place was rightfully his. When the General Assembly met he was duly chosen Senator and he entered upon a new field. He was ripe for the duties of the high station to which he had been chosen. His close studies of policies, his clear analysis of motives and forecasting of results, his broad and comprehensive views of public affairs, his integrity of character, fitted him to take a place among the law-makers of a nation. Studious by nature and by habit, possessing a lofty conception of the duties of a public servant and of the exalted dignity and responsibilities of a member of the highest legislative body in the world, he entered upon the discharge of his duties fully armed and equipped. Before taking up and reviewing his public career in the Senate it will be well to follow a little further his services to his party in the campaigns that have followed his election to the Senate.

Before the campaign of 1898 opened he was called to Detroit, Michigan, to address the people on the celebration of Washington's Birthday. His speech abounded in epigrammatic sentences, a few of which are culled for insertion in this place:

"It is a trite saying that the luxuries of yesterday are the necessities of today. Our children are wiser than the philosophers who studied in the shade of Academus. The world is moving forward with electric momentum and the political philosophers of the Platte are unable to stop it. An advancing country demands a party of progressive principles. A party which neither learns nor forgets is a national hindrance, and valuable only as a reminiscence."

"The country has outgrown Democracy as it has outgrown the ox-cart, the stage-coach and their contemporaneous instruments of civilization."

"Before that august tribunal (the Supreme Court) the weak and the strong, the poor and the rich, stand upon a plane of absolute equality, and whoever attempts to undermine the confidence of the people in its integrity or justice is an enemy of the republic."

"The vitalizing fact, the vivifying influence of Republicanism today is bathing the country in the sunshine of prosperity. The clouds and mists of adversity which have rested upon our land for the past few years are lifting under the restoration of Republicanism in our government. The people are

lighter-hearted and fuller-handed than they were, and look hopefully and confidently to the future for even greater things."

"Republicanism lays the groundwork for the larger development of the opportunities which a bountiful providence has placed within our grasp."

"Republicanism is evolution; evolution to higher and better conditions; evolution out of commercial paralysis to industrial activity where labor and capital are joint sharers."

"Republicanism is catholicity of spirit. Its monitor is the national conscience."

"No nation which is not essentially honest can long succeed. Policies which are not just can bring nothing except distrust and disaster."

"Republicanism seeks to restore confidence, for after all it is the best currency, though it bears not the stamp of government. Confidence is the basis of all prosperity, of all national greatness. Upon confidence rests the everlasting throne. Without it the church vanishes as a disordered dream. Upon confidence rest our temples of justice. Confidence is the handmaiden of the arts and sciences. Confidence led Gallileo through the dark night into the beautiful garden of the skies. Confidence led Washington from Valley Forge to Yorktown, and Grant from Donelson to Appomattox. Confidence in ourselves, confidence in each other, confidence in truth and righteousness is essential to all progress, all success."

"Republicanism demands that our currency shall be honest, sound and stable, in order that capital and labor may go forth resolutely and without fear into the future."

"The currency that is good for the one must be good for the other."

"We have the best country, the best people, and limitless possibilities. We are entitled to have, and we shall consent to have nothing less than the best instrumentalities for our development."

"We should throw about our monetary system such safeguards as shall preserve it in the shock of war and in time of peace."

"No country which is willing to juggle with its credit will long retain the respect of mankind."

"National repudiation is national degradation and the loss of individual respect."

"Whoever would seek to blind the people by prejudice and attempt to overthrow the fixed, unvarying standard, under which so much has been accomplished, is their arch enemy."

"The greatest government should be the most just."

"The ultimate judgment of the American people is always just. We can confidently appeal to it."

Senator Fairbanks opened the campaign of 1898 in Indiana by presiding at the State Convention and again sounding the "keynote" for the party. The speech was an able and exhaustive review of the first

year of the administration of President McKinley. He opened with a serious declaration of the duty of a party to give a faithful account of its stewardship to the people:

“My countrymen, the occasion demands that we should give to the great constituency which we represent some account of our administration of national and State affairs with which the people have intrusted us. In the nature of the case, we can do no more than touch upon the more salient features of the great and numerous questions which have engaged our attention. We have been in power in State and Nation about one year and a half—a brief period, yet filled with more important events than any similar period of our country’s history, except, perhaps, only one. It has been, indeed, a history-making epoch—an epoch which will challenge the admiration and approval of those who shall follow us. Mighty events have pressed quick upon each other, and more are soon to come.

“When we were last assembled, two years ago, distress and commercial paralysis were on every hand; our people were enervated and progress seemed dead. But with the restoration of the Republican party to power in 1897 an era of prosperity was ushered in. All avenues of industry were reopened; countless thousands of idle workmen found remunerative fields of employment, and the returns of the farmers increased until plenty and happiness extend throughout

the borders of the Republic. What caused this sudden transformation—this radical and universally recognized change? It was the natural and logical result of the restoration of the Republican party to power and the re-establishment of Republican principles in public administration.”

He took up the principal acts of the McKinley administration, the reform of the tariff, the war with Spain, the war revenue bill, the treatment of the financial question, the annexation of Hawaii and the Nicaragua canal, analyzing and dissecting them in a clear and logical style. He closed as follows:

“We are proud of the administration of President McKinley. He has borne the burdens of his great office with a patience and courage that have won the approving judgment of all parties and all peoples. He has met every duty with a broad and comprehensive statesmanship, and sought to lead our country in the ways of peace, fraternity, prosperity and honor. When war became inevitable, when it became necessary to appeal to the sword, he struck with a swift and heavy hand.” In less than sixty days he assembled an army of nearly a quarter of a million of men, calling to the rank and places of leadership men of all parties and of all sections of the country. Those who had fought against him when he was defending the Union were called to lead, that they might vindicate their love for the Republic, their devotion to the flag they had once in their mistaken

zeal sought to destroy. He has well met the arduous demands of peace and the grave exigencies of war.

“My countrymen, the Republican party has confidence in the future. It sees in present conditions the promise of enlarged opportunity and of greater prosperity and happiness for the American people. The bow of promise which bends above us was never more splendid than today. There never was an hour in all our proud history when it meant more to be an American.

“Our flag is more loved at home and more people are willing to die for it than ever before. It is the flag of mercy and liberty; it is profoundly respected wherever the stories of sacrifice and heroic deeds are read; it is more honored and respected than ever by the nations of the earth; it has been raised in the name of suffering humanity and placed upon the citadels of cruel power; it has blessed the famished and suffering; it has brought succor to the distressed and redemption to the oppressed; it is the blessed symbol of honorable peace and not of tyrannical rule. Patriotism is all-pervading, sectional differences have disappeared, and the hearts of our countrymen are at last welded into an indissoluble union.”

The result of the campaign was a triumphant vindication of the Republican party and policies, its ticket having a largely increased plurality. It added to the respect and confidence of the people in Mr.

Fairbanks, and gave him a new hold on the party. As in prior campaigns he was the trusted leader, the eloquent and forceful champion of his party. He did not neglect his duties in the Senate—simply worked harder and more hours. He did not confine his campaign services to Indiana, but spoke in a number of other States.

He was ever the champion of the McKinley administration. He was not an apologist, for he never thought the administration needed an apologist; but he was at all times willing to stand up and show why the policies adopted by the administration were wise, conservative and the best for the nation and the people. On October 7, 1899, at a banquet of the Marquette Club, of Chicago, he was chosen to respond to the toast, "The Present Administration," and there gave an elaborate exposition of the ruling motives and the results of the policy pursued by President McKinley. As a just and able exposition of the first two years of President McKinley's term the speech is worthy of preservation:

"The present administration needs neither an apologist nor an eulogist. Its imperishable record is written and is before the world. It is an administration of arduous deeds done, which lift it above the dead level of history. It has been confronted by great questions of domestic policy; it has solved them. It has also encountered grave foreign problems, and well it has met them. No emergency has been so

great or exigency so severe that it has not been met on the high plane of national duty and national honor.

"Few administrations ever succeeded to power with more weighty responsibilities, or of which there were more exalted expectations. There were years of distress, years of hopelessness and crippled enterprise back of us. There was a Macedonian cry from all sections of the land for relief—for deliverance. The administration was essentially pledged to the maintenance of the public credit, the public faith. Public credit is preserved; yes, it was never so high at home and abroad as it is in this historic hour.

"The first duty which was laid upon the administration was to secure the readjustment of the tariff and the enactment of a genuine protective measure. To this end Congress was convoked in extraordinary session at the earliest practicable moment, and a tariff law was enacted. It has served well its purpose. It instantly gave confidence to enterprise, quickened depressed industries, and the signs and evidences of commercial activity were soon witnessed on every hand. Domestic commerce took on new energy and life, and our foreign trade soon reached and passed the high-water mark of the successful and splendid administration of Benjamin Harrison.

"The determination of the administration to preserve inviolate the public faith and inflexibly uphold the gold standard gave an assurance and confidence

to commerce that had all the potency of the most solemn congressional enactment. Commerce knew that no chimerical monetary schemes would be allowed to corrupt or tarnish the circulating medium while the present administration was in power. It knew that free silver coinage was, for the time being at least, as dead as the Rameses, and that in the light of practical experience the American people could not soon be led to adopt any of the current financial sophistries and heresies.

“Prosperity came. It came to the seventy-five millions of American citizens, and in exceptional abundance. It came by the assurance of wise and conservative administration, by the enactment of wholesome laws, by the subtle touch of the magic wand of confidence—confidence which in the final analysis is the source of all progress, all success, and without which there is stagnation and death. It came contrary to many fervent and unwise predictions. It came through the harmonious co-operation of three potent agencies—a protective tariff, a gold standard, and a sound, patriotic administration. Were the present administration committed to a debased silver currency and to free trade, the splendid transformation we have witnessed would have been an utter and absolute impossibility, and the calamities from which we have so successfully and happily escaped would have been but multiplied.

“There were indeed domestic questions numerous

and grave enough to absorb the attention of the administration, but it inherited an ample legacy of international problems of more than usual gravity. The national conscience was stirred by Spanish atrocities; the people could endure them no longer. The Cuban specter would not down. All the powers of diplomacy were invoked to bring peace and order to the blood-stained island of Cuba. There was no thought of war; no desire for war. No one knew better than the President the dreadful consequences of an appeal to the sword. No one knew better than he that nothing so becomes power as its sparing use.

“While the administration was employing all possible agencies to secure peace and honorably avert war, there were many of our countrymen who were impatient to recognize the belligerency of the Cubans—the independence of the so-called Cuban Republic—and were insistent that the conflict should begin. They challenged the patriotism of the administration and questioned its courage, although the President had gathered harvests of enduring fame upon the battlefields of the country. For humanity’s sake the administration had appealed to the Spanish Cabinet in behalf of Cuba, but medieval government would not hearken to the voice of nineteenth century civilization. All efforts to mediate a peace having failed, the dread alternative of war alone remained.

“A crisis was at hand, as sharp and severe as could possibly confront the Government; a crisis which

comes but seldom in the life of a nation, and yet too oft. The administration with one hand delayed the oncoming storm, while with the other it pushed with all possible dispatch the coast defenses, the purchase of munitions of war, and the enlargement of the navy, which was to give such a splendid report of itself. The crisis was supreme, and it was superbly met. When the hour for action came the Congress of the United States, interpreting the heart and conscience and the inexorable determination of the American people, declared for war. Spain's fatal hour had come. The administration was prepared to execute the decree of Congress; it was ready to strike. The thunderbolt of war fell first in the obscure harbor of Manila, today the best known harbor on the face of the earth.

"The supreme demand of the American people was voiced in the order of the administration which flashed to Hongkong: 'Find the Spanish fleet and destroy it.' How well this order was interpreted and executed the world knows, and history will not forget. The intrepid Dewey, in one short hour, stood with the foremost admirals of all ages. All honor to him; all honor to his brave men. A nation's gratitude to them, each and all.

"An army of a quarter of a million men was called from the myriad vocations of peace, organized, equipped, and put in the field with almost incredible dispatch. No better soldiers ever answered the call

to arms. They were American soldiers, ready and eager to serve at the post of duty, counting no sacrifice too great in their country's cause.

"They came from the four quarters of the Republic, Federal and Confederate, and their descendants stood together in a common cause, inspired by one hope, actuated by one high purpose, and that was to preserve a common inheritance, the glory of a common flag. The Grants and the Lees, the Shafters and the Wheelers, the Lawtons and the Butlers, bore commissions from the same President. The administration and the public welcomed the disappearance of sectional differences. The Republic has experienced a new birth of patriotism; and, let us hope and pray, is reunited and unified forever.

"But it has been said with some unction that the administration did not desire war. Be it so. It is a grave matter to start the mighty enginery of seventy-five millions of people, brave and proud, though just they are. Finite mind can compass the beginning, but Omniscience alone can set the boundaries of its ending. It will indeed be a fatal hour for the Republic when the President of the United States shall love peace less than war.

"The administration sought no sordid ends, no territorial aggrandizement. It sought no Napoleonic extension of empire; it desired only peace with her boundless joys, her limitless possibilities; peace of which the country had been so long enamored. It

had added Hawaii to our domain, through the instrumentality of diplomacy and from the dictates of the highest statesmanship in the national interest; but it coveted no other lands and no other peoples. Hawaii was indeed trophy enough to signalize any administration.

"The Congress, with due deliberation and exceptional unanimity, declared war, and the Senate of the United States, after protracted debate, ratified the Treaty of Peace. With the treaty came new and remote lands, new peoples, new and unexpected responsibilities; but they came as the logical sequence of war, and not as the fruit of its supreme purpose. The sword was drawn in the high and holy cause of humanity; it was drawn to liberate peoples from barbarous, tyrannical rule, from horrors which disgraced savagery.

"By the Articles of Peace Porto Rico is ours, to be administered as an exalted sense of justice shall require. Cuba is committed to us in trust, and is to be given stable and suitable government, according to our pledge. The Philippines are ours by title absolute, unassailable. They have come to us and are ours by right universally recognized among the nations of the earth. They passed to the jurisdiction of the United States by the cession of the treaty of peace, duly ratified and exchanged by the two Powers engaged in war. With the extension of our sovereignty there came the duties which American sover-

eighty implies—the enforcement of law and order, the preservation of the peace.

“A portion of the inhabitants of the islands denied the supremacy of the United States in the archipelago. They challenged the exalted purpose of the Government; they wantonly fired upon the American troops pending the ratification of the treaty of peace. Without the pretense of provocation or the shadow of justification they have assailed the flag whose mission is merciful. The administration resisted the attack and did what the people of the United States desired it should do; it did its duty by asserting the supremacy of the national authority by force of arms.

“Our forces in the Philippines formed no league with Aguinaldo; made no compact with him for subordinating the authority of the United States to his self-constituted dictatorship. Our peerless Captain of the Seas added imperishable glory to the American flag. He could not have surrendered the field of his incomparable victory to the insurgent chieftain.

“When the administration overthrew the Spanish authority in Manila it owed a high and solemn duty to the Americans, the British, the Germans, the French, the Spaniards, and other nationalities in the archipelago, to preserve them from massacre and to save their homes and property from pillage and the torch. It could not have withdrawn its support and

left to chance the protection of the thousands of citizens and subjects of the leading nations of the world who were there under the guardianship of Spanish authority. It would not have comported to the dignity, the justice and the mercy of the Republic for the administration to have recalled our victorious forces lest by staying we should assume some unexpected responsibilities. Such a policy would have been dastardly and would have dishonored the flag, which is without its first blemish. Yea, more than that, it would have been the master crime of the age. Moreover, we can never forget that we were under a large moral obligation to the peace of the world which an abandonment of the Philippines would have placed inevitably in serious peril.

“We are not now concerned with questions of imperialism or of expansion. We are occupied with the paramount question of enforcing respect for the national authority, of suppressing rebellion against it. Opposition to our authority, wherever it has been extended under universally recognized law, is rebellion, whether it is in Illinois or in the Philippines. We have an irreversible and irrevocable code of national duty; the flag must be protected wherever it is lawfully raised. What American can demand less?

“We wish the war had been honorably averted, great and splendid as have been its results, but, in God’s providence, that was impossible. We could

not desire to avoid any of the responsibilities or duties which justly devolve upon a victorious army; a country brave enough and good enough to go to war in humanity's name must be just enough and brave enough to accept the consequences, whatever they may be. To attempt to escape the burdens fairly arising out of our own course and conduct would earn for us the reproach of the civilized world and the forfeiture of our own national self-respect. We have but one way to go, and that is in the path of duty. There all honor lies."

* * *

"The administration has been able, well poised, firm, courageous, avoiding no responsibility and shunning no duty. It has been an epoch-making administration. It has walked in untried paths with no guide except the national conscience. It has observed the fundamental truth that in a Republic the people are the source of all power, and it has taken them into its confidence in fullest measure. Its North Star has been the people's will. It is clean; the atmosphere which surrounds it is wholesome. A high sense of civic duty characterizes all branches of the public service; and the public business is dispatched without friction and with fidelity.

"It has managed well the finances of the Government. Illinois is entitled to her full share of credit for this, for she gave to the administration a Secretary who ranks with the foremost Secretaries of the

Treasury; with Hamilton, Gallatin, Chase and Sherman. His mastery of the science of finance enabled him not only to preserve the credit of the country from the shock of war, but to advance it to the highest point ever attained. The ordinary fiscal requirements of the Government have been promptly met, and the war-chest has been amply supplied. Bonds have been sold upon terms better than have been obtained for either the purposes of peace or war. The money came from the pockets of the people. The capitalists of Europe were eager to take them, but there was no need of their assistance. Syndicates at home wished to subscribe for them, but the reliance of the administration was upon the great mass of the people; and how splendidly have they justified its confidence! Their only regret was that they could not give the Government, in the hour of its necessity, millions more than were required.

“The United States never stood higher in the esteem of the great Powers of the earth than now. Her justice, her magnanimity and her power have become manifest to all. It is, indeed, of the utmost importance that our country should sustain relations of amity with other countries. Our commerce is expanding, and more than ever, seeking distant markets. Nothing will more distinctly aid in its extension than the existence of cordial relations with foreign peoples. We must win our way to the com-

mand of the world's trade by compelling, through our course and example, the world's respect.

"The administration has scrupulously observed our international obligations. It has been no less regardful of the rights of other nations than it has been rigidly insistent upon the recognition of our own. It has cultivated good neighborhood with all of the great Powers, and today there is no nation with which the United States is not upon terms of cordial relationship.

"It has sought no political or entangling alliance with any Power; it is bound to none except by the ties of commercial interest and mutual respect."

The speech was also, in part, a prophecy of what would be the claims of the Republican party the next year for the continued confidence of the people. Free silverism had been badly defeated in 1896 and the elections in the various States in 1898 had emphasized that defeat, but free silverism was not dead. It still was rampant and defiant, and early gave evidence that its spirit would control the Democratic National Convention in 1900 and a ticket would be nominated on that issue. It was this fact that impelled Republican speakers to dwell largely on the monetary question in all their addresses before the public.

CHAPTER VI.

HIS SERVICES TO HIS PARTY—Continued.

LONG before it came time to name candidates for President in 1900 it was practically known that the two who had opposed each other in 1896 would again be called to lead their respective parties. The administration of President McKinley had been so eminently successful that his party had no thought of choosing another, and Mr. Bryan had so impressed himself on the free-silver wing of the Democratic party that they would be satisfied with none but him, so the meeting of the conventions were little more than perfunctory, except in the adoption of a platform and selecting candidates for the second place. Mr. Fairbanks was again sent to represent his State, and was made Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. This distinction arose from two causes—his eminent fitness for the place, and because it was understood he was more nearly the personal representative of President McKinley than any other delegate. He knew the views of the President on all the great questions; he was sound on the financial question, stood with the President in the manner and

method of governing our new possessions and the proposed construction of an isthmian canal.

On his return to Indianapolis he was invited to deliver an address on the issues. In his clear, logical manner he presented the issues as they appeared to him and to his party. He said:

"I shall discuss in a plain way and as briefly as may be some of the questions engaging the attention of the American people. We should approach them as patriots rather than as partisans, inspired only by the purpose to advance the best interests of our country. Prejudice and passion have no rightful place in the august tribunal where the destiny of the American Republic is determined.

"We come before the people with no apology upon our lips, but with a luminous record of righteous deeds done, with promise wrought into fulfillment. We are not ashamed of our old issues nor afraid to frankly espouse our new ones. Our record is before the people, and it is a part of the enduring history of the Republic. We could not change it if we would, and we would not if we could.

"Four years ago we promised to enact a tariff law which would supply the federal treasury with adequate revenue and promote American interests. We have redeemed this pledge by the enactment of the Dingley law. This law established confidence, reopened factories, erected new enterprises and opened the way to profitable employment for the great army

of unemployed workingmen. The products of the farm found ready markets at enhanced values; the treasury was replenished and prosperity prevailed throughout the United States in unusual degree."

* * *

"No one has shared more in the prosperity stimulated by the McKinley administration than the farmers of the United States. No one suffered more than they during the last administration. Their gain in the enhanced value of live stock and ten staple crops for four years is more than one billion dollars."

* * *

"It has been but a few years since the streets and highways were crowded with idle workmen, vainly searching for work—work at any wages. It has been but a few years since idle men, pinched by want and hunger, were marching upon Washington, appealing for relief. A revolution has occurred, peaceful in its process, mighty and significant in its results. The ranks of the employed have been increased by hundreds of thousands. Labor has had work. It has not been asking bread at the hands of charity. It has been building homes; it has been educating children; it has been increasing deposits in building and loan associations and savings banks. Shall we reverse this gratifying condition? Shall we again increase the ranks of the unemployed? Shall work continue to seek labor, or shall we return to the days when labor was anxiously seeking work?"

* * *

"Those who toil should not be defrauded of the fruit of their labor. There is no device that so surely cheats labor as a depreciated currency, and it is the part of good government to provide for a circulating medium which shall be as good in the hands of labor as in the hands of capital. It must defraud neither the one nor the other. There is something almost cruel, it seems the very irony of fate, for the owners of silver bullion to attempt to secure the support of those who toil to the debasement of the currency which they must receive for their labor."

* * *

"Wages are none too high. The overthrow of the gold standard and the establishment of silver monometallism would mean their immediate and inevitable reduction. A reduction in the value of the money in which wages are paid is, in effect, a reduction of wages."

* * *

"We can not contemplate the currency issue, grave and important as it is, without acknowledging the great debt the country owes to those splendid men who put country above party and enabled us to achieve a great victory in 1896—the Gold Democrats. We must merit their further confidence and their potential support by a steadfast adherence to sound and wholesome policies and administration."

* * *

"The record of the administration in the war with

Spain and with respect to the problems growing out of it challenges our admiration. Its course has been dictated by the loftiest motives, and a brilliant chapter has been added to American history.

"When the present administration came into power there was no thought of war. It was confronted only by pressing and important problems of peace, the restoration of prosperity among the people, and to these it promptly and seriously addressed itself.

"The war in Cuba, which had existed so long, became more and more intolerable, and it was early apparent that an international problem of great gravity was at our very door. A resolution recognizing the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents was introduced in the Senate soon after the inauguration of President McKinley, and after protracted debate passed, but it failed to pass the Republican House. It was opposed by the President, who regarded such a measure as tending seriously to involve the United States in perplexing complications, and because such recognition would have no beneficial effect to the struggling Cubans, and would abate none of the horrors and brutalities which shocked the moral sense of the world.

"The President desired permanent peace established in Cuba and the independence of the Cubans secured. To this end he tendered the good offices of the United States to the Spanish Cabinet. While thus invoking the peaceful instrumentalities of di-

plomacy, the opposition was unsparing in its criticism of the Executive. Cuba lay so close to our doors that turbulence and revolution within her borders were instantly and sensibly felt by us. Twice we had been brought to the very verge of war by her conduct. The Black Warrior incident and the Virginius affair had in their time profoundly disturbed the country, and war was on each occasion averted by the exercise of great tact and a spirit of forbearance on the part of the Government of the United States.

“For years our coast cities were ravaged by disease which had its permanent abode in the pestilential cities of Cuba. Our national honor, our national peace and the health of our people demanded that Spanish misrule should cease in the island and it should be permitted to enjoy an enlightened, independent government.

“In the midst of the President’s efforts to bring peace and independence to Cuba came the overwhelming, unspeakable tragedy in the harbor of Havana. The demand for immediate vengeance swept across the land and the people were stirred as never before except at the shot at Fort Sumter.

“The country will not forget the dark hours that preceded the declaration of war. They will never forget the strong, calm, conservative, straightforward course of the President, unmoved by the clamor, the criticism, the unkindness of the unreflective. His resistance of the urgent cry of the opposition for war

was in nowise due to any lack of confidence in the result of the issue or to any want of faith in the power of the government.

"We were unprepared for war. We had so long pursued the ways of peace that we were unfit even for one engagement. The inadequacy of our fleet was everywhere recognized. Our coasts were unprotected. No one knew but what the opening engagement with Spain would be the signal for a general engagement among European Powers. But the opposition took no thought of this. The country will not forget, amidst the smoke and fustian of a political campaign, with what superb courage the President held war in check when it became inevitable. Preparations were pushed with the utmost expedition. Amidst it all was to be heard the opposition clamor for war without delay. Those who criticised most then criticise most now. Those who were most eager for war were quickest to run from our duty and responsibility when it closed.

"The response of our countrymen to the call to arms is the pride of all. The brave young men of the country came from every vocation with a spontaneity that showed that the American people believed in the righteousness of our cause and were determined to sustain the patriotic course of the President.

"The dramatic and decisive hour had come. The flag of Spain must be withdrawn and the flag of a republic be raised in its place.

"The world knows with what swiftness the President made war when in due course it had been declared by Congress. The matchless victory of our navy in the Philippines and the resplendent triumph of our army and navy in Cuba have become an enduring part of our heroic history.

"Fellow-citizens, it is impossible to overestimate the importance of the impending campaign, its far-reaching significance. Indiana, great and splendid State that she is, should not support any reactionary policy; she will not. She will stand firm as she has stood heretofore in favor of a protective tariff, the gold standard, national duty and the honor of our flag. No stain rests upon it; symbol of liberty, justice and mercy. Let us give our potential support to an administration which makes for prosperity and honor at home and for prestige and honor abroad."

In this masterly speech Mr. Fairbanks vindicated the action of the President and the Republican party in the terms granted to Spain and for what had been done in the new possessions. Mr. Fairbanks made many other speeches during that campaign, growing continually in strength as a campaign speaker and in the confidence of his party. His services were in great demand in other States, and wherever he appeared he was sure of an attentive and appreciative hearing. The campaign resulted in a great triumph for the Republican party, not only in Indiana but in the country. By this time the attention of the whole

country had been drawn to Mr. Fairbanks, and many prophecies were made that in 1904 he would be the logical candidate to succeed Mr. McKinley. He was known to possess the entire confidence of the President, and his calm, logical and conservative mind had taken hold on the party throughout the nation.

On the last day of December, 1900, he delivered a notable address before the Columbia Club of Indianapolis, the topic assigned him being "The Future of the Republican Party." The speech added much to his reputation, and was widely circulated. He said:

"This is indeed a propitious hour. We stand upon the dividing line between two great centuries—the one great in arduous deeds done, in history written; the other mighty in possibilities of things to be. The Republican party can look upon the good old century which is rapidly fading away with pride and satisfaction, and upon the new century with hope and confidence.

"The old century! What a mighty century it has been! About midway the Republican party was born, and made luminous its second half. It enlarged the meaning of liberty; it gave to freedom a significance unknown to the immortal founders of the Republic; it wrote a brilliant chapter with the sword and established our industrial supremacy among the nations of the earth; it raised our flag in honor among the great Powers.

"It is indeed a favorable omen that the twentieth century, which has already entered our eastern gates, will witness the Republican party in the ascendancy; not a decrepit party, not a mere political reminiscence, but a party in the very flush of power, radiant with hope and high purpose, commissioned anew by the American people. The Great German Chancellor, Bismarck, once said: 'Germany has no power to fear except the wrath of Almighty God.' We may appropriate this utterance without vainglory. We realize, however, that boastfulness is vulgar, that real strength is its own herald. Yet, as we stand at this supreme historic hour, we may be pardoned a word as to our greatness. Our power, which is to be found in our vast domain and in our marvelous material development, is not our chief glory. Our charity and our humanity are our principal evidences of national grandeur.

"Naturally, increased power brings added responsibility. The problems of the twentieth century will tax the genius and courage and patriotism of the Republican party. The questions immediately before us do not invite repose. Many of them will continue to be vital, living questions far into the future. What we have done in the past is of little matter. Our continued ascendancy must depend upon the skill and the success with which we meet the increasing and inexorable demands of the years to come.' The high record we have made will not greatly aid us; it will

rather serve to make our path more difficult, for more will be expected of us. The higher we have risen, the higher we must rise."

* * *

"We have an abiding sense of security against alien assault. Our institutions are not in peril from abroad. They must be secure from perils within. Our sense of justice must keep pace with our expanding power. We must see to it that right and might dwell together as in perpetual wedlock. The Nation is in no danger, no matter how numerous its population and great its material resources, if the people are pervaded with a sense of justice, and parties which control the Government are actuated alone by high motives. There will, indeed, be great necessity in the future of a party of self-restraint.

"The Republican party had its birth in a quickened national conscience. Its immortal founders dedicated it to the cause of human liberty, the highest and best interests of the people. It must be true to the ideals and purposes of its founders and to the great men who have raised it to its present proud eminence. One of the greatest of these [General Harrison] sits at this board, possessing the admiration and respect of his grateful countrymen. He has made a brilliant page in the country's history which time will not efface."

* * *

"The Republican party will continue to be a party

of broad sympathies, the advocate of human liberty and the inflexible foe to sectional, race or class spirit. Class has no place in its patriotic principles, for class is the fruit of empire, the enemy of the Republic. It will continue to be the protector of both labor and capital—the two mighty pillars upon which our social and political fabric rests. The party which would pull down either invites both to hopeless ruin. The party which does not comprehend this is deficient in statesmanship and is an enemy of the Republic.

“It will not abandon the contest it has made in the interest of a sound monetary system, which is the foundation rock of commercial success. Good government and good money must co-exist. The dollar current is essentially a Republican dollar and it must be preserved without taint or tarnish.”

* * *

“The Republican party will in the new century cut the narrow isthmus which divides the Atlantic from the Pacific and fulfill the long-cherished hope of the American people and under their undisputed control. This stupendous work, the like of which in its vastness is nowhere to be found, will be undertaken under Republican auspices in the no distant future.”

* * *

“There are more peoples under the flag today than ever before. There are those who have been strangers to us. Our flag has delivered them from imperial

rule. We must deal with them; we must have a care for them. They have not hitherto tasted of the fruits of liberty. They know not the beneficent ways of republican government. We must secure to them the amplest fruits of the Republic, and in good time they will come to reverence it as their deliverer from imperialistic rule and find in it the assurance and guaranty of freedom and civilization.

“The future of the Republican party! What splendid possibilities lie before it! Will it be true to its traditions? Will it be true to its opportunities? It will live as long as it serves well the country, and it should live no longer. It is a means, not an end. It is an instrument for the advancement of good government and we should no more consent to its debasement than we would welcome national degradation. Those in whom the thought of personal aggrandizement is uppermost should not be permitted to control its destiny. If we would have pure government we must have a pure party—one whose sole aim is to promote wholesome administration.

“Washington, in his immortal farewell address, exhorted his countrymen against the excesses of party spirit. Webster pointed out the peril to the foundations of our institutions if party be substituted for country. We will not forget that the power of the Republican party abides with the people; that, as much as we love the party, our country must be the real object of our concern and that our power will

endure only as we shall truly serve it. Republicanism and Americanism must ever be synonymous.

"New issues will arise, new questions will divide the people, of which we know not now. The Republican party will be found espousing those issues and those question which will make for the stability, the honor and the welfare of the country. It must hold fast to those great fundamental doctrines of human liberty for which our fathers stood; for the rights of all, and the equality of all before the law. If it advocates principles and policies which will square with these wholesome truths, the years of its power and supremacy are unnumbered and its beneficent influence unmeasured."

There are many sentences in this great speech that ought to find an abiding lodgment in the hearts and minds of all the people. They are not mere words thrown together to make phrases for oratorical effect, but they come from the keystone of his conscience; they are the axioms of his political life and the guides of his public service. They are a part of the serious thought and conviction of the man. The whole speech is made up of such utterances, but some of the sentences are so telling and are so characteristic of the man that we reproduce them:

"Our power, which is to be found in our vast domain and in our marvelous material development, is not our chief glory. Our charity and our humanity are our principal evidences of national grandeur."

"Our sense of justice must keep pace with our expanding power."

"We must see to it that right and might dwell together as in perpetual wedlock."

"The Nation is in no danger, no matter how numerous its population and great its material resources, if the people are pervaded with a sense of justice, and parties which control the government are actuated alone by high motives."

"Good government and good money must coexist."

"It [the Republican party] will exist as long as it serves well the country, and it should live no longer. It is a means, not an end."

"If we would have a pure government we must have a pure party—one whose sole aim is to promote wholesome administration."

"We will not forget that the power of the Republican party abides with the people; that as much as we love the party, our country must be the real object of our concern and our power will endure only as we shall truly serve it."

Crisp, sharp, decisive, these sentences are the utterances of a strong man, of a man whose soul is imbued with thoughts of the future greatness of the country, and the responsibilities of individuals and parties. They are patriotic as well as wise. Some of them contain a warning note to his own party as well as to all other parties, that power and control only come to the party that serves the country best.

They may, indeed, be classed as political axioms. Mr. Lincoln said that the country could not long endure half slave and half free. So Mr. Fairbanks says that a political party can endure only so long as it serves the country faithfully and well.

To those given may be added a few taken from an address delivered before the Americus Club of Pittsburgh.

"Without harmony between labor and capital there can be no real, enduring progress and prosperity. It should always be remembered that each has rights which the other should respect, and that they should dwell together in amity."

"We should seek to inculcate a sense of justice among men, so that capital shall deal fairly with labor, and labor deal with equal fairness with capital."

"It [the Republican party] should always be careful in promise and quick and resolute in fulfillment. So long as it keeps faith with the people, the people will keep faith with it."

In 1902 he opened the political campaign in Indiana at Anderson, in a speech reviewing the past achievements of the Republican party and the record of the McKinley administration. Like all his political speeches, it was full of crisp statements of facts, sharply defined conclusions and fair and candid presentations. * Although it was the opening speech of what is called in politics "an off-year campaign," it

attracted wide attention at the time of its delivery, and as a full and forceful presentation of the principles of the Republican party is worthy of reproduction, but space forbids more than a few extracts from the more striking sentences:

“Our record is written. It has been written successfully. By it we must be judged. In all American history there is no record of any political party which equals, much less surpasses it. Parties, like individuals, must be judged by deeds done, by things accomplished, and not by mere promises made. We must account to the people for our stewardship. We have been entrusted with vast power. Have we been faithful? The past five years constitute but a brief period in the Nation’s history, yet how long it seems when measured by things accomplished for the well-being of the people.”

* * *

“Idle labor is not a good customer for the farmer. Abundant crops signify nothing if there is a poor buyer, or if they are allowed to perish in the field.”

* * *

“We do not hold that the protective tariff is an inspired decree. It is, at most, an expedient of government. Tariff schedules are not sacred. They are devised to support the government and to sustain our industrial life—not to threaten it.”

* * *

“It is not at all necessary to resort to such a dan-

gerous and unscientific expedient as that of overthrowing the tariff system to reach the evils which may, from time to time, inhere in trusts. Those evils will be eradicated, not by indirection, but directly; not by breaking down an economic system, long established, but by laws aimed directly at them and enforced against them. There is no combination of capital so strong that the people are not stronger. The power to cure all evils abides in the people and they will never alienate it."

* * *

"One of the greatest correctives of abuses is publicity, and publicity should be required wherever abuses are supposed to exist. No great wrong will long exist in the full light of publicity. Publicity will not cure all wrongs, but it will result in curing some."

* * *

"When we overthrew Spanish power it became our supreme duty to hold disorder in check, to protect the dependent from pillage and the torch, and when the islands were ceded to the United States it became as much our duty to maintain peace there as in any other territory belonging to the United States."

* * *

"It pays nations, as well as individuals, to adhere to the inflexible principles of fair dealing. No doubt the United States could have ignored the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and proceeded with the construction

of the canal, but it preferred, as it always prefers, the frank and honorable way."

* * *

"When we cast our ballot with one hand we should hold in the other the records of the two great political parties. We should ponder them, reflect upon them. We should not be governed by what the parties have promised, but by what they have accomplished. The party which should win is not the party that promises most, but which performs most."

* * *

"The destiny of the Republic is what we make it. Let the young men of Indiana whose fathers have wrought so well in building up State and Nation unite with the Republican party, which has served the country wisely and patriotically in every supreme crisis. Inspired by its heroic past, and by the memory of its mighty statesmen dead, and by the example of its statesmen living, aid in carrying our country forward in the way of peace, honor and prosperity, and to the highest and best destiny."

In this campaign Mr. Fairbanks was a candidate to succeed himself as Senator. The result of the campaign was a great personal triumph. The Republican State ticket was elected by a plurality larger than ever before given, with one exception, while the majority in the Legislature was the greatest in the history of any party. Mr. Fairbanks was reelected by the unanimous Republican vote.

As has been remarked heretofore, Mr. Fairbanks' services to his party were by no means confined to speech-making. He advised and counseled as to the declaration of principles and the conduct and management of campaigns. And amid it all he never ceased his efforts to lift party politics upon a high plane of political and individual integrity, away from the low stage of personal detraction and corruption at the ballot-box.

CHAPTER VII.

HE ENTERS THE SENATE.

THE entry of Mr. Fairbanks into the Senate was propitious. On the day that he took his seat his friend, Mr. McKinley, took the oath of office as Chief Magistrate of the Nation. The new President and the new Senator were not political friends only, but they were personal friends as well. They knew each other intimately, and each had an exalted opinion of the personal and intellectual worth of the other. They had each measured the strength of the other, and each had an abiding faith that the other was especially fitted in all ways for the position to which he had been chosen. During the great campaign of 1896 Mr. Fairbanks had been one of the most intimate and most trusted of the advisers of Mr. McKinley, and the new President had learned during these months to have great confidence in the judgment of the future Senator. They were both moved by the same lofty impulse—to serve the people to the best of their ability. They both were conservative by nature and by training, and each had an exalted estimate of the duties and responsibilities of the station

they had assumed. They both were serious and earnest students of public affairs, and neither would let party considerations outweigh their deliberate judgment as to what was best for the people. So it was that the new President came at once to rely upon the wisdom and judgment of the new Senator, as he had relied upon the campaign adviser.

Mr. Fairbanks took with him into the Senate an established reputation as a profound lawyer, a wise and successful party leader and a forcible speaker. The intimate relations between him and the President were well known, and that the President relied greatly upon his counsels, so he took a prominent place at once among his colleagues. He was too modest, too self-contained, too much amenable to the traditions of the august body which he had entered to push himself unduly forward in debate, but from the very first he was taken into the inner councils of his party associates in the Senate.

It was at a propitious moment for himself that Mr. Fairbanks entered the Senate, but it was a fortuitous moment for the whole country, for it was at a crisis in the affairs of the Nation when such calm, deliberate, conservative, yet really bold, temperaments were needed in the councils of the Nation. For some time the war and barbarities in Cuba had been attracting the attention of the civilized world, and the relations between the Government of the United States and that of Spain were becoming daily

more and more strained. The effects of the war in Cuba were felt more in this country than in any other, owing to the proximity of the island to our coast, and the suffering people there were calling loudly upon us for aid in their struggle against the tyranny of Spain. The people of the United States were indignant, and anxious that some steps should be taken to end the cruel war. This had been recognized by the convention that nominated Mr. McKinley for President, and the deliberate views of the Republican party were embodied in the platform adopted by that convention. There were many in Congress and out of it who clamored for action, even if it involved this country in war with Spain.

Another and most momentous question was confronting the Nation. For three years the country had suffered an unexampled season of business depression. Everywhere factories were closed, and hundreds of thousands of workmen were anxiously seeking for employment they could not obtain. Distress, financial and commercial, covered the country like a pall, and the new administration was confronted with the duty of finding some solution of this problem; some way to open the factories, of finding work for the labor that was idle. Under the pressing exigencies of the occasion President McKinley called Congress to meet in extraordinary session, and it was fortuitous for the country that Mr. Fairbanks had taken his seat among the conservative Senators.

Mr. Fairbanks had not been a Senator three months when he made his maiden speech. It was upon an exciting and most important occasion, one fraught with great possibilities to the country. His relations with President McKinley were such that when he arose to speak every one felt that what he should say would truthfully and faithfully reflect the views of the President, and he was listened to with much more than the usual attention given to the maiden effort of a young Senator.

The President had called Congress to enact a tariff law, but at the very beginning the Cuban question presented itself, and Senator Morgan, of Alabama, introduced a resolution recognizing the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents. It was a question of great moment, and if adopted the resolution was sure to break off diplomatic relations with Spain and possibly lead to a war with that country. It was on this question, fraught with such vital consequences, that Senator Fairbanks made his maiden speech. It was a speech full of dignity and the seriousness befitting so important an occasion. It was also of great force. It gave to the members the gauge of their new colleague. It was a calm and dispassionate presentation of the situation and the consequences involved, and was delivered with dignity and force. It was the product of a student and of a statesman. It is now a part of the history of the country, and no apologies are offered for presenting it here:

“Mr. President: It has not been my purpose until now to invite the attention of the Senate in this debate, and it is my present intention to add but a few words. I shall not indulge in criticisms upon the Senate or its members, for my brief presence here has but increased my respect for both. My observation is that there is no one here who possesses more patriotism or love of liberty than others; that in that respect there is absolute equality here. I further observe, Mr. President, as this debate has progressed, that there is no difference among the honorable Senators with respect to their desire for the freedom of Cuba. All wish to see peace reign and liberty established in the desolated island. The difference arises, sir, with regard to the means which shall be employed to attain the hoped-for end.

“The immediate division of opinion has been with reference to the motion of the distinguished Senator from Maine to refer the resolution of the honorable Senator from Alabama to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Those who opposed the reference felt that they had adequate information upon which to act, while those who favored the reference desired in an orderly and usual way to secure information in the State Department bearing upon the subject under consideration, and they also desired to have the deliberate judgment of the able Committee on Foreign Relations with respect to it. Their desire in this

regard was intensified by the partial disclosures made yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Ohio.

"Mr. President, it seems to me that those who favored the reference for the reasons indicated are not wanting in humanity and love of country, and are not unreasonable in their demands. Few questions can arise in this chamber more momentous than this, and it should have that consideration which comports with its magnitude. Some Senators may be satisfied with the fragmentary information of affairs in Cuba which they have from private sources, from the public press, and from the State Department, but others may not be.

"It would seem that as a predicate for action upon this question, so important in its immediate results and which shall become a notable precedent, there should be upon the table of every Senator all the official information obtainable and a well-considered report from the appropriate committee. Each Senator must act upon the solemnity of his oath, and a nice regard for the obligations he has taken upon his entrance to this chamber demands that he have the essential facts, officially ascertained, before he records his deliberate potential judgment.

"I observe that this course was adopted by the Senate at the last session. The resolution concerning Cuba was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The committee, after mature deliberation, reported it back to the Senate with substitute

resolutions. The majority report was presented by the honorable Senator from Alabama, who now opposes the reference of his own resolution upon the same subject in the same manner to the same committee. If deliberation and orderly procedure were observed then, why not now? What exigency has arisen which demands the present departure from the practices of the Senate in the past?

“Mr. President, I shall not stop to discuss the question as to whether, under the constitution, the recognition of belligerency is an executive or legislative function, or whether the executive and legislative branches of the Government should act conjointly. But it seems to me that in the conduct of our foreign affairs the practice has been for the Committee on Foreign Relations to act upon these international questions to some degree in conjunction with the Executive Department of the Government. If such has not been the practice heretofore, now is the time to set a good precedent.

“A new administration is in power, not yet three months old—an administration charged with great responsibility. Shall we act in this grave matter regardless of its views or policies respecting foreign affairs? Shall the Congress take one position and the Executive another upon a question of such moment and obvious delicacy? If so, what will be the effect, not only upon the fortune of Cuba, but upon our domestic affairs, sensitive and unsettled as they are?

“Mr. President, if I correctly apprehend those who favor the resolution of the Senator from Alabama, one of the chief purposes to be accomplished by the recognition of belligerency is to legitimatize the war in Cuba; it is to change barbarous warfare into civilized warfare. The immediate purpose is not to stop the war, but to alter its character.

“Sir, I hold to the opinion that all war is barbarous. I am against war, civilized or uncivilized, except it be necessary to redeem people from oppression, or be for national defense, or to sustain the national honor in the protection of American citizenship. I preferred a reference of the joint resolution to the Foreign Relations Committee, that it might determine whether, under all the facts, according to the official information in possession of the Government, it could not report a resolution which will accomplish what the resolution offered by the Senator from Alabama fails to secure, and that is, peace and the independence of Cuba.

“Upon the recognition of belligerent rights, Mr. President, we do not stop the war; we merely dignify it. When will it cease? How much longer will the slaughter continue? How much longer will the sword and torch devour? No one can tell; no one can measure the loss.

“I would prefer a policy more certain, more direct. Let us come out into the open and be for war or against it. If a great moral responsibility rests

upon us, as I believe it does, let us discharge it squarely and fairly.

“Sir, I would forthwith tender the good offices of this Government to the Spanish Cabinet, to the end that war cease. And further, I would open amicable negotiations to secure the independence of Cuba, which, under the providence of the Almighty, is its manifest destiny. If these peaceful and honorable methods fail and the war should continue, I would have no hesitancy in reaching out the mighty arm of this Government and saying, ‘This war shall cease.’ But, sir, such an extreme measure will not be necessary to accomplish an honorable peace.

“Some of the distinguished Senators who belong to the party which holds my loyal allegiance have professed to support the resolution of the Senator from Alabama because, as they hold, it is in consonance with the platform adopted at St. Louis. I heard the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, who presided over the deliberations of that great congress of American citizens with such conspicuous ability, read the platform this morning and declare his approval of it. With due deference to the honorable Senator, I must utterly and entirely repudiate the suggestion that the resolution proposed by the Senator from Alabama is in accord with the Republican platform, for, in my judgment, it is against it. The platform on the Cuban question declared that—

“ ‘From the hour of achieving their own independ-

ence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American people to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

“The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations—

“Note carefully what follows—

‘we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.’

“This language is free from ambiguity. Its meaning is not involved in the slightest doubt. Peace and independence are to be obtained through the active agency of the United States.

“Let me read the resolution offered by the Senator from Alabama :

“‘Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a condition of public war exists between the government of Spain and the government proclaimed and for some time maintained by the force of arms by the people of Cuba, and that the United States of America shall maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.’

“The policy to which this resolution commits the Government is one of—

‘strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.’

“I yield to no Senator, I yield to no Republican in my attachment to the doctrines of the Republican party. I believe that when the platform was adopted at St. Louis it was a covenant to be executed honestly, fearlessly, faithfully; and I am here, Mr. President, to execute it to the best of my humble ability.

“The scope and purpose of the resolution and the Republican platform are totally dissimilar. The former recognizes the rights of belligerency and maintains an attitude of strict neutrality—nothing more—while the platform requires the Government to tender its good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island. The distinction between tendering the good offices of the Government and acknowledging belligerency, according to international law, is broad and marked.

“I believe the golden moment of which the honorable Senator from Massachusetts has spoken has arrived. The condition in Cuba, except the horrors of the pestilential camps, which the President’s message has wisely attempted to mitigate, seems to be worse than ever; the hold of Spain on Cuba is less certain; her revenues have decreased; the burdens of war have increased. The rainy season is at hand,

when the march must stop. A large army is to be maintained at heavy cost until the seasons permit a new campaign. The issue is in the balance. Sir, it would seem that the highest considerations which can move men or nations would suggest the tender and acceptance of the good offices of this Government.

“Mr. President, before closing I wish to say that I am deeply sensible of the distress in Cuba. I have no doubt of the substantial accuracy of the reports of the press of the country with respect to it. I am also conscious of the distress and sufferings in our own country. Every hour the pathetic appeals of our own countrymen come to us. More than 2,000,000 good and loyal American workmen are walking the streets and highways of our country asking for work; seeking not charity, but a chance to labor. Their eyes are on this chamber. Every hour is precious to them. They are not threatened by the barbarity of Weyler, but by the cruelty of want.

“For every soldier that falls on the fields of Cuba a hundred fall in the ranks of labor. The manufacturers have been discouraged and the merchants have been idle in the marts of trade. In the name of these, sir, I protest against delay in the consideration of the matters for which we were convoked in this extraordinary session. ‘Pass the tariff! Pass the tariff!’ comes from our expectant countrymen night and day. A tariff law and a currency commission are the imperative demands of the hour. Whatever will in-

terfere with early securing them, no matter how important it is, I shall steadfastly oppose."

Senator Fairbanks closed his speech by offering an amendment to the pending resolution. This amendment was understood to express the views of President McKinley. It was to the purport that the Government tender the good offices of the United States to Spain in an endeavor to secure independence for Cuba. The amendment failed and the original resolution of Senator Morgan was adopted, but it failed to pass the House, and the threatening crisis was escaped for a time.

This speech fixed the status of Mr. Fairbanks in the Senate, and from that time he has taken part in the discussion of every important question that has been before the Congress. He was made Chairman of the Committee on Immigration, in view of the vast numbers of illiterate, pauper and criminal classes who were flocking to our shores, a very important committee. He addressed himself to the duties of the place with the same care and industry he had ever displayed. He made a profound study of the whole question of immigration and its effect upon this country. When he had thoroughly prepared himself for an exhaustive discussion of the subject he reported a bill restricting the admission of immigrants into this country, and enforced it with a speech of some length, abounding in statements of facts and cogent arguments as to why the bill should become a

law. In the progress of the speech he presented a number of statistical tables of great value to the student of political and social economy. Among other things he said :

“No more important question can engage our attention, and none should receive more earnest and thoughtful consideration, than one which seeks to guard and preserve the high standard of our population and citizenship. No policy, however venerable, no mere sentimental considerations should dissuade us from dealing with an evil which menaces our civilization, and in a manner compatible with the best interests of our country and all its people.”

* * *

“We are not unmindful of the immeasurable contributions which our foreign-born population has made to the upbuilding of the Republic. Its work and influence has been felt throughout the country, and much of all that is great and splendid about us is the fruit of its genius and industry. But those who have aided most were those who quickly blended with the great mass of our native-born population and most readily renounced allegiance to their own countries and assumed the duties of loyal citizens, taking an interest and pride in sustaining and strengthening the institutions of the country of their adoption. Sir, I am pleased to say that the native and foreign-born of Indiana have wrought together in raising that splendid State to her present exalted

position. They have been zealous co-workers, sharing alike in all the labors, anxieties, and rewards incident to carving out of the wilderness that majestic commonwealth. Search her muster-rolls, and there you will find thousands born beneath distant skies who dared all in defense of the honor and the integrity of their chosen land. They shared in the arduous deeds of heroes on many fields, and their patriotic devotion is a part of the imperishable glory of the State."

* * *

"The absorptive power of our nation has been great, and in the main the aliens and the natives have easily fused into a homogeneous people. The rapid admixture of foreign bloods here without the impairment of our national character has challenged the wonder and admiration of the civilized world."

* * *

"Until recent years immigration was invited and stimulated by liberal homestead laws, and by colonization agencies which offered alluring inducements. All who sought our shores were accepted without question or discrimination. The educated, moral and patriotic were welcome. * The culprit, fleeing from outraged justice, found a refuge here. The physically, mentally or morally disordered were permitted to become residents and citizens and share with us, as though to 'the manner born,' the privileges bequeathed to us by our fathers. Our broad,

rich, unoccupied domain and expanding industries invited numbers, and no heed was taken of their quality; and it is remarkable, and indeed the subject of congratulation, that we suffered so little from the undesirable and really objectionable while our gates stood unprotected."

* * *

"The very large per cent. of the immigration, until quite recently, came from the United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. It was in the main intelligent, industrious, frugal, law-respecting and liberty-loving. It readily assimilated with us and merged into the American with marvelous facility. It contributed to our statesmanship, to our literature, to our commerce, to our agriculture, and to all other avenues of industry."

* * *

"If it be said that in further restricting immigration we are departing from the traditional policy of our Government, we answer that conditions have changed, and with new conditions the policy of the Government must change to meet them. No policy should stand against the best interests of our countrymen, native and foreign-born alike."

* * *

"The more recent immigration is less devoted to home building than the former. . . . It may be stated as axiomatic that home-builders are good citizens, for the government that rests upon the home

will better resist the shock of foreign invasion or domestic tumult. The American home is indeed the cradle of liberty—it is the unit of the Republic's strength. There are taught the lessons that endure. That immigration that does not seek to build homes among us is the most objectionable, and its exclusion will be no loss."

* * *

"A patriotic regard for those to whose interests we owe first allegiance requires us to see that the persons who present themselves to this new competition shall not be the most ignorant pauper laborers from abroad. . . . A low wage scale is not consistent with the most wholesome development of the country and of its people."

* * *

"What should be more in harmony with our institutions than an educational test, for the enduring basis upon which the Republic rests is intelligence? The schoolroom is more potential in our preservation than steel-armored fleets; more essential to our defense than the strongest fortress. A general knowledge among the people of the rudimentary branches of an education is regarded as essential to the safety of our free institutions and necessary for the enjoyment of American citizenship. It is in recognition of these facts that private beneficences have endowed schools and that many States have enacted compulsory education laws, and that the people have volun-

tarily laid upon themselves the burden of instructing the youth of the land. In many of the States the truant officer has become a familiar arm of the law. May we not demand of those without seeking our shores that rudimentary education which we require from our own countrymen within?"

* * *

"Mr. President, the present bill has heretofore received the approval of the Senate. It is born neither of a want of hospitality nor of a nativistic spirit, but of a profound conviction that the illiterate elements which do not make for national betterment should be excluded, and that we should admit only those able to read and write our Constitution and who are enamored of our country and its institutions. Sir, let us exalt American citizenship, the richest legacy which in the divine economy may be bequeathed to the children of men, and preserve undiminished the moral and intellectual grandeur of the Republic."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

VERY early in the service of Senator Fairbanks one of the great questions—our financial system—was under discussion. The election of Mr. McKinley made it certain that for four years, at least, there would be no free coinage of silver, but the free silver advocates were in earnest and the silver question had many phases. It will be remembered that Mr. Fairbanks had been chosen by Mr. McKinley for temporary chairman of the St. Louis convention, and to forecast in his speech what would be the financial policy of his administration should he be nominated and elected President. It is not surprising, then, notwithstanding Mr. Fairbanks had been a member of the Senate less than one year, when the subject of silver was under discussion, that he should deliver a set speech. Senator Teller, of Colorado, one of the most earnest and able advocates of free silver, introduced into the Senate a resolution declaring, in substance, that certain bonds issued by the United States were payable, principal and interest, at the option of the Government, in silver coin.

It was a very adroit and insidious attack on the financial policy of President McKinley, and was calculated to win support from the unwary, and cause trouble for the Republican party. The speech of Senator Fairbanks was characterized by close, logical reasoning, and he supported his argument with copious facts and figures taken from the past history of the country. In view of the fact that there are still a large number of people who continue to advocate the doctrine of free coinage, the speech made by Mr. Fairbanks in January, 1898, is well worth considering at this day. Among other things he said:

"I am reluctant to add to what has already so admirably and forcibly been urged against the adoption of the resolution of the Senator from Colorado. But I am so impressed with its subtle attack upon the public credit and by its mischievous effect upon the country that I can not consent to rest my opposition solely upon my negative vote."

* * *

"It is wholly reactionary in its purpose. It declares that the principal and interest of certain bonds shall be paid at the option of the Government in silver dollars of the coinage of the United States containing 412½ grains each of standard silver, regardless of the great decline that has occurred in the commercial value of silver throughout the world. ' It is not claimed that its terms either enlarge

or restrict the obligations devolved upon the Government by existing law. It does not have the force of law; it is at most a brutum fulmen."

* * *

"It is evident that the central purpose of the resolution is to obtain the sentiment of the Senate upon the proposition for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. Why was not this purpose, Mr. President, frankly and clearly expressed in the face of the resolution, in order that no doubt whatever might arise as to its scope and meaning? So important a question as the currency and the coinage of gold and silver can not be settled by indirection, nor will we be entrapped into any inconsiderate and doubtful expression with respect thereto."

* * *

"I am aware, Mr. President, of the tremendous power of environment upon our lives and upon our judgments. It seems to me that in the devotion of the Senator from Colorado to the cause of free silver he is following but an ignis fatuus, and that he would lead his country and his followers in the pursuit of it into the morass of commercial paralysis, degradation and dishonor."

* * *

"What is its purpose? What does it seek to accomplish? Sir, it seems to me to lay the groundwork of national discredit and national dishonor.

Any impairment of the public credit sensibly and injuriously affects individual credit and private enterprise. Any possible derangement of our commercial interests must tend to create dissatisfaction, discouragement, discontent, and out of such conditions it is hoped, I believe, that the free coinage of silver will emerge."

* * *

"The present resolution is unwarranted by existing circumstances. Whatever tends to arrest the rapid restoration of prosperity, which tends to disturb confidence, which is the foundation-rock upon which all true and enduring prosperity is built, is unwise, untimely."

* * *

"The ranks of free silver have been recruited out of adversity and disaster. I give the author of the pending resolution credit for the perspicacity to see that in the complete restoration of prosperity, now imminent and manifest to all, the free and unrestricted coinage of silver is an utter impossibility, and as a real issue it would soon become as dead as the Cæsars."

* * *

"The enforced payment of the bond creditors of the Government in cheap silver dollars would, in my judgment, be in violation of the spirit and purpose of the contract, if not in contravention of its letter."

* * *

"I well recollect the invitation that was presented soon after the war to induce the people by various devices to repudiate a portion of the great bond debt. But it is a part of our proudest history that the voice of the repudiator was unheeded and that the great mass of the people were as sensitive of preserving the national honor by meeting the national obligations as they were to defend it upon the battlefields of the Republic."

* * *

"I shall not stop to critically examine the letter of the bonds of the Government, supplemented by the provisions of the resolution before us. I shall write into them the good faith and moral obligation of the country to meet and discharge them fairly and squarely and without loss to the creditor. This obligation, I take it, is of no less binding force upon a country sensitive of its honor than that which may be termed strictly the legal obligation, and I shall consent to no interpretation which shall prevent the Government from paying its debts in the best standard of money and in full measure. This policy I would apply in its best and most comprehensive sense to bonds, pensions, and every other class and form of Government indebtedness. I hold, sir, that above all gold and all silver and of all other forms of currency stand the honor and the credit of the Government."

* * *

“The present is no time for quibbling, for uncertainty, for doubt. There must be no equivocation with respect to the character of our money standard, and no hesitancy nor divided purpose in its inflexible maintenance. It is our duty to place about it such safeguards as wisdom and prudence may suggest and to preserve it unimpaired. The judgment and the conscience of the American people found expression in the platform adopted by the St. Louis convention, in 1896, and which was triumphantly ratified at the ballot box. The declaration made was unalterable opposition to every measure calculated to debase our currency or to impair the credit of the country. Opposition was pledged to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, to promote which pledge was given; and until such agreement could be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and all measures were favored which were designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth. Sir, this constitutes our monetary creed—broad, sound, patriotic—the true foundation of all real, individual prosperity and enduring national greatness.”

A momentous crisis was approaching and the coun-

try was about to be suddenly plunged into a war the results of which were to startle the world and change our traditional policy. The condition of affairs in Cuba had been going from bad to worse. The brutalities practiced on the people of the island by those in authority had long shocked the humanity of the world, but Spain was deaf to all protests, to all solicitations. President McKinley watched the development of affairs with keen interest. At the very beginning of his administration there had been an effort made to force the Government to take a step that would have led to immediate war, but it had been checked.

The excitement in this country increased, and members of all parties urged the President to take some decisive stand to end the barbarities practiced in Cuba, but he steadfastly pursued his policy of trying to maintain peace with Spain and at the same time induce that government to better the condition of affairs on the island. He recognized that this country was not ready for war, and that war was to be avoided if at all possible compatible with the honor of the Nation. At last an electric spark was touched that aroused the Nation as nothing had done in all its history.

The President from the first had been profoundly impressed with the seriousness of the situation, and that war might come, but he was not to be hastened into taking any step that would look like desiring

war. His first official act in the affairs of Cuba was to ask an appropriation to enable him to provide food, medicines and transportation out of the island for the Americans stranded there. The filibuster element kept up a constant and fierce fire upon him, but he showed no sign of weakening in his conservative attitude. In his first annual message to Congress he calmly discussed the situation; spoke plainly of the horrors of the war in the island, and very strongly indicated that the time might come when the United States would feel bound to interfere to end the horrors. He stated that his efforts to bring about an honorable peace would be continued, and then closed with these solemn and impressive words:

“The near future will demonstrate whether the indispensable condition of a righteous peace, just alike to the Cubans and to Spain, as well as equitable to all our interests so intimately involved in the welfare of Cuba, is likely to be obtained. If not, the exigency of further and other action by the United States will remain to be taken. When that time comes, that action will be determined in the line of indisputable right and duty. It will be faced without misgiving or hesitancy, in the light of the obligations the Government owes to itself, to the people who have confided to it the protection of their interests and honor, and to humanity.

“Sure of the right, keeping free from all offense ourselves, actuated only by upright and patriotic con-

siderations, moved neither by passions nor selfishness, the Government will continue its watchful care over the rights and property of American citizens and will abate none of its efforts to bring about by peaceful agencies a peace which shall be honorable and enduring. If it shall hereafter appear to be a duty imposed by our obligations to ourselves, to civilization and humanity, to intervene with force, it shall be without fault on our part and only because the necessity for such action will be so clear as to command the support and approval of the civilized world."

Following the full and comprehensive recital of the condition of affairs, and the many provocations given to the United States, this language might well have been looked upon as being an ultimatum, announcing that the conduct of the war must change or the United States would interfere. It was not regarded by Spain. In February, 1898, the indignation of the American people received a new impetus. A proposition had been made to show the friendly feeling between this country and Spain by an interchange of visits by a warship of each nation, the Spanish vessel to visit New York and the American Havana. While this peaceful maneuver was in course of preparation a letter was published, purporting to have been written by the Spanish Minister at Washington, Dupuy de Lome, to a Spanish official at Havana. This letter teemed with abusive epithets against the President, and suggestions to the Spanish official to continue a certain course of deception.

The publication of this letter produced a storm of excitement in this country, and the Spanish Minister promptly cabled his resignation to his government and left the country. This was followed eight days later by the blowing up of the Maine in Havana harbor. An instant demand for war followed, and Congress promptly gave the President \$50,000,000 for defensive purposes and for the purchase of ships to strengthen our navy.

On the 11th of April, 1898, President McKinley sent a long and comprehensive message to Congress, reviewing the situation, and closing with the following paragraph:

"The issue is now with Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action."

A resolution was introduced in Congress declaring the people of Cuba free, and demanding that Spain relinquish authority in that island. The President was empowered and directed to use the land and naval forces of this country to carry the resolution into effect. A number of able speeches were made while the resolution was pending, that of Senator Fairbanks being especially effective. In the course of his speech he said:

"I have not been for either peace at any price or

war at any cost. I have been steadfastly for peace if it could be maintained honorably, and for war if the national 'dignity and honor required it. The problem which is presented to us is one of the greatest gravity, one which invokes our most deliberate, patriotic judgment."

* * *

"In view of our relations to the island and of our policy of opposition to foreign interference with Spanish control, we are morally bound to put an end to the wrongs, the outrages, the evils which flow from Spanish misrule. We have repeatedly tendered to the Spanish Cabinet our friendly offices to end the wars in Cuba and to restore peace. Our offers have been uniformly rejected."

* * *

"This Government has at all times been scrupulously observant of her duties toward Spain, yet Spain has either been unwilling or unable to properly protect the rights of our citizens or to make adequate reparation for the wrongs committed against them. They have been imprisoned without cause and tardily released without just reparation for the indignities and wrongs committed. The story is an old one; is already familiar as a thrice-told tale. History is but repeating itself."

* * *

"For many months the Chief Executive, upon whom rests, under the Constitution, the conduct of

our foreign affairs, has been attempting to solve the Cuban problem peacefully and honorably. He has proceeded to its consideration with a broad and sympathetic statesmanship, and with a determination to enforce all the just demands we could make upon the Spanish authority, and with a purpose of defending, in the fullest degree, the national honor. The task imposed has been a grave and difficult one, and he has discharged it in a manner to challenge the admiration of his contemporaries and, in my opinion, to win the approval of dispassionate history. His policy was an open one, known to the world; it was peace with honor above and beyond all else, and war with honor only as the last dread emergency. If war was to come, it must come at such a time as we would be able to meet it and in such manner as the whole world would approve. He truly comprehended the resources and the patriotism of our people, and well knew that but one result would follow an appeal to the sword. He also knew that nothing so became the mighty power of a great people as its sparing use.

“But a few weeks ago the *Maine*, one of our war vessels, was sent to the harbor of Havana upon a mission of peace, for the protection of American interests, and not for war. Her going was but the resumption of old-time friendly relations. While the noble ship rested at peace in the harbor of Havana, while she was enjoying Spanish hospitality, she

was destroyed, and most of her brave crew perished with her. When the blow came she was Spain's guest, which 'was strong against the deed.' The explosion aroused our countrymen and shook the earth. It was the master tragedy of the age."

* * *

"The evidence is ample to convict Spain. No unprejudiced jury in all Christendom would fail to render a verdict of guilty if Spain were an individual resting under indictment in a court of criminal jurisdiction. Her conduct both before and after the fact leaves no possible shadow of doubt. Whether the electric current was sent upon its mission of death by Spanish decree or by a Spanish functionary in Havana we will not stop to inquire. It is not for us to do so. The burden rests upon Spain. It was by the direct order of her military authorities that the Maine was anchored above a powerful, deadly submarine mine. Was this accidental? How chivalric! What a token of friendship and esteem! What a graceful courtesy! But it is said by Spain that we have not shown that she released the fatal spark. Be it so. It is not necessary. The primary cause was her act; we will not look beyond it. The original offense was hers. Nor are we obliged to stop to inquire whether the Spanish officers were negligent or exceeded their authority. If such a duty rests upon any one, it does not rest upon us."

* * *

"Sir, the ghosts of the Maine will not down; they beckon us on. Would that they could tell the secrets of their 'prison house.' Then we would know how, sleeping, the Spanish 'serpent stung' them. For this grave act Spain must make due amends."

* * *

"Our own tranquility, our own sense of security, our regard for our present and future comfort and for the lives of her helpless and hapless subjects, demand that we should interpose the mighty power of this Government to stop the carnival of crime and suffering and restore peace to the Island of Cuba until some suitable government may be formed which shall be a guaranty to us and to the other nations of the earth that it will at all times in the future be ready and willing and able to discharge its domestic and international obligations."

* * *

"No one will distrust our motives in taking this step. We do not intervene for revenge, for the acquisition of territory, for the extension of our authority and power. Our past history is ample proof of this. Spain has long overtaxed the generous forbearance of our people. We have suffered wrongs that would have justified a nation actuated by less exalted motives than we to have struck in revenge. Ample opportunity has heretofore occurred for the seizure of the island by force if we had been eager to extend our dominion. The world will acquit us

of any base design. The misgovernment of Cuba has become so flagrant, the barbarism, the wrongs, the outrages there have so offended the civilized world that we must intervene for and in the name of humanity. No higher motive can actuate any government."

* * *

"We are at the beginning of a new epoch in our history. No graver emergency ever confronted us than the one which faces us at this hour. Peace is about to be abdicated for a policy which may lead to war. War, if it comes, will have been forced upon us by the misgovernment, the insolence, the cruelty of Spain. Spain has too long presumed upon our good nature. She has too long offended against the sense of justice of our people. Her desultory, guerilla-like, barbarous warfare upon her subjects in Cuba, upon American citizens and American commerce, has been in effect a war upon us."

* * *

"I confess I have come to the conclusion to which I have arrived after much deliberation—reluctantly and with profound regret. I have hoped and prayed that this great emergency might be honorably averted or avoided. My hesitancy did not grow out of any doubt as to the patriotism or the power of my country. It was due to no possible doubt as to the result of the issue, but to the fact that I have felt that even Spain, cruel and merciless as she has been,

would not be wholly dead to our righteous and firm appeals."

* * *

"All efforts at amicable solution have failed, and all that remains is to invoke the mighty power of this Government in behalf of enduring peace and imperiled humanity. We shall now have the satisfaction of knowing that, come what may in the lottery of war, we have left undone nothing which could be done consistently with honor to secure a pacific settlement. The Spanish flag must be withdrawn and cease forever to contaminate the air of this hemisphere. To the high and holy cause of humanity and the vindication of our national honor we dedicate the lives and fortune of the Republic."

War was declared, and the country made preparations to fill the army and the navy. It is known how the people rallied to the standard of the nation from every section. Those who had fought for the gray vied with those who fought for the blue in testifying their devotion to the old flag. That glorious page in American history has been read by the world. The United States was to step forth as the champion of humanity and liberty, and the people were ready for it. Men who had grown old and gray in the service of the country tendered themselves for duty; young men, sons of sires who had fought on the bloody battlefields during the civil war, came forward as did their fathers in the days from 1861 to

1865. Among those who offered for duty at the front was Senator Fairbanks. In the Senate he had opposed all hasty action and advocated the exhaustion of every possible means to bring about a peace before resorting to arms, but when patience ceased to be a virtue he voted for the declaration that was to loose the army and the navy of the United States to drive Spain from this side of the world. He wrote to Governor James A. Mount, of Indiana, tendering his services for duty in the field. To this offer of his services Governor Mount made the following reply:

“My Dear Senator—Permit me to say, in reply to your patriotic tender of your services, that I commend your loyalty to the State and Nation. The offer of your services as a soldier means that you are ready to make any sacrifice for the preservation of the national honor.

“I beg to assure you that you can best render that service in the United States Senate. In this connection I desire to commend your patriotic course. Your great speech on the Cuban question was the argument of a statesman. I could not consent to your leaving the Senate. Your constituents would protest. We need statesmen as much as soldiers. We can fill the places of soldiers much easier than the seats of Senators.

“No one can place a higher estimate than I place upon the offer of your services to the State as a sol-

dier, but above this is my measure of your services as a Senator. Very truly yours,

“J. A. MOUNT.

“Indianapolis, May 3, 1898.”

Mr. Fairbanks was a very busy man in the Senate, especially during the continuance of the short war with Spain. He earnestly upheld in every way the hands of the administration in forcing a speedy peace. He was earnest in his advocacy of all the war measures authorizing volunteers, strengthening the navy and the raising of the proper revenue, making a very elaborate speech on the bill for that purpose. He was not hasty in throwing himself into a debate, but carefully and studiously prepared himself with facts and authorities, just as he would prepare himself for an argument before a court.

One of the things to which the Republican party—the party to which Senator Fairbanks owed allegiance—had pledged itself was to enact whatever legislation was needed to maintain the parity of the various kinds of currency with gold. It was a perplexing question, owing to the variance in the views of the Republican members of Congress and to the strong opposition of the free silver advocates, who would be satisfied with no currency bill that did not provide for the coinage of silver. The struggle to harmonize the many conflicting views was long and arduous. The sound money members kept steadily before them the necessity of some legislation on the

subject, the only question with them being what shape the legislation should take. There were, also, seemingly irreconcilable differences between the two houses of Congress. Senator Fairbanks watched the course of the legislation and the discussion with great interest. A bill was finally formulated that after a long discussion passed the House and was sent to the Senate. There it received many amendments, and the struggle between the two houses was transferred to the room of the Conference Committee. It was not until the report of that committee was made that Senator Fairbanks joined in the discussion.

He gave to the question a careful and exhaustive study, and came to its discussion fully armed at all points, with authorities and precedents. The speech is an epitome of the history of financial legislation in this country, and is valuable for reference to the student of finance. He again emphasized his adhesion to the gold standard and his unalterable opposition to the free coinage of silver. On any question that came up before the Senate there was never any doubt as to where Senator Fairbanks stood. In no speech that he ever delivered was there to be found any equivocation or evasion. He always stated his position plainly and clearly, that there might be no doubt about it. So it was in this speech on the financial bill.

"The pending measure," he said, "continues gold

as the monetary unit or standard of value. It does not attempt to establish a new standard of value with which we are unfamiliar. It makes no new experiment which may lead to surprises and uncertainties, to the embarrassment of commerce and the consequent injury of the interests of labor and capital. It is a reassurance to them that no change is to occur in our monetary system which will place them in immediate or serious peril. Upon this renewed pledge they may go forward, planning, building and expanding for the future. It allays apprehensions; dispels fears. It becomes the secure foundation of an expanding commerce—of a larger commercial growth.”

It was not the custom of the Senator, while discussing a question pending before the Senate, to indulge in political bickerings or to contrast the attitude of the political parties on the question, but in this speech he drew this sharp contrast between the policy advocated by the Republicans and that of their opponents:

“The issue between the two parties is sharply defined. The one adheres to the gold standard and the consequent use of a large but limited volume of silver and paper currency, its full equivalent in effecting the exchanges of the people, while the other is for the maintenance of the single silver standard, with gold expelled from the channels of trade. It is true this is not its professed policy, yet it would be the inevitable result if its policy were adopted.”

In another place he defended the Republican party from a charge of inconsistency made against it by Senator Teller, saying:

“It is of little profit to pause and consider whether there has been any variation in political platforms. The pregnant fact is not whether a party was right or wrong in the past, but whether it is right now. The Senator will search in vain for any equivocation in the utterances or the purposes of the Republican party at any time with respect to the preservation of the absolute equality of all forms of currency. It always has been opposed to a degraded dollar, and at the earliest moment possible after the war brought every dollar of our money to a plane of absolute equality. It evolved order out of financial chaos in 1879 and has stood immovable for the preservation of the parity with each other of our dollars—gold, paper and silver.”

The Senator once said that he believed platforms were made to be lived up to, and that all promises should be religiously fulfilled. To him the platform of his party meant something more than idle words with which to catch votes. On all proper occasions he urged the prompt keeping of all promises made to the people. Therefore he was one of those who rejoiced at the prospect of the passage of the financial bill. To him it meant something in addition to maintaining the gold standard—it was one more promise kept.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE FLAG.

THE war with Spain placed new burdens on the Congress and the Executive. We had taken over Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands from Spain, and a system of government was to be formulated for them. This was an exceedingly delicate task on many accounts, principally because the whole system of laws under which those islands had been governed for centuries was totally different from that which prevailed in the United States. In addition to this was the fact that the people spoke another language, and a vast majority of them were illiterate, and having grown up under tyranny and oppression, they were turbulent and intractable.

A very grave and perplexing question at once arose—"Does the Constitution follow the flag?" Possibly a very large majority of the American people held that the flag took with it the Constitution and all our institutions; that having taken possession and assumed jurisdiction over Porto Rico and the Philippines they at once became integral parts of the United States, and their citizens became citizens with us,

with all the rights of American citizens. In our government, they said, we know no such things as "subjects," and many held that the people of our new possessions must be either citizens or subjects. Theretofore, whenever our flag had been raised over a new possession, at the same moment the Constitution had spread its broad aegis over the people; but here there were complications that had existed in none of the countries that had been annexed heretofore.⁵ It was indeed a delicate problem—one much harder than the one presented at the close of the war between the States, when the status of the negro had to be defined. It is not surprising that statesmen divided on the question when courts, the expounders of the Constitution, divided.

A temporary solution was found so far as the internal government was concerned by putting the islands under military control for the time, but even then difficulties were in the way. If the islands were an integral part of the country, then the laws of Congress prevailed, and among those laws was one levying impost duties. One day Porto Rico was a foreign country, and its products were liable to the customs duties if brought into this country; the next day, when it passed under our jurisdiction, was it entitled to have its products admitted free of customs duties? There was another question that looked for awhile as if it would be hard to solve. In the Philippines the

church and the state had been practically one. Such a condition could not remain under American rule.

Another question to be solved was how the expenses of the insular governments were to be paid. This was one of the first that arose in Congress. It was proposed to retain our tariff law as to Porto Rico, but so far favor the products of the island as to admit them on payment of a very small per cent. of the duties levied on the same articles from other countries. This proposition raised a storm of protest all over the country. In Indiana the people were practically united in holding that the Constitution followed the flag, and that Porto Rico, consequently, was under the protection of that instrument and no customs duties could be levied against its products. Senator Fairbanks was fairly deluged with letters and protests against the proposed law, and he was urged to take a stand in opposition to it. Almost every friend he had in the State counseled him so to do.

Senator Fairbanks had studied the question for himself, and had reached the conclusion that the Constitution did not of itself follow the flag, and that in the case of our new insular possessions it would not be safe at this time to extend it over them; that the Constitution not automatically extending itself, Congress had the power to require customs duties from its products imported into the States, and that it was very proper and right so to do, to provide for the

necessary expenses of maintaining a government over them. He addressed the Senate in an elaborate speech setting forth the reasons that impelled him to take that position, and in advocating the passage of the pending measure he said:

“Whether the Constitution extends automatically to a territory acquired has been a much debated question. Divergent views have been and still are sharply entertained upon the subject. Such difference of opinion will continue until the Supreme Court, in the serenity of yonder judicial chamber, shall, in a case raising squarely the issue, determine the question. Its supreme judgment will be accepted by the country, for in its wisdom and in the integrity of its purpose there exists no doubt. Until it shall determine and define the powers of Congress under the Constitution the Congress should reserve to itself the widest possible liberty, the amplest discretion in dealing with the problems and conditions which are now facing us and which were not within the contemplation of the wise framers of the Constitution.

“Our Constitution, for which the American people have a respect and veneration next only to their respect and veneration for Holy Writ, was framed for the government of a people who had in them the seed of self-government which had germinated and grown for centuries, a people who were familiar with the privileges conferred and the duties imposed by the Constitution, and who knew how to exercise and ob-

serve them. It was framed for a people whose wants and capacities were distinctly known and understood.

"In its essential principles, in its most exalted purpose, the Constitution can be adapted to many peoples and many countries that are without preliminary training or experience; but as to others it would be illy adapted, and some modification as to details would become necessary, if it were to be applied to them. The spirit of that immortal instrument may go everywhere, but many of its fixed and absolute provisions would rest imperfectly upon those peoples and races whose traditions and conditions are entirely unlike our own."

Senator Fairbanks fully appreciated the importance and gravity of the question, and in earnest words appealed for deliberate action. He said:

"The greatest danger in dealing with the new problems which engage our attention is undue haste, unconsiderate action. There will be no difficulty in solving them if we will be content to act only upon ample information and be willing to retrace our steps if we go wrong. There is no mind so gifted as to be able to see the end from the beginning. We must obtain the best lights possible and follow them in the settlement of the questions before us, actuated always by the exalted purpose to deal justly and liberally with those who, through one of the great revolutions in history—may I not say evolutions—are committed to our care.

"We should remember that free government did not spring, Athena like, into existence, but is the fruit of centuries of trial and tribulation, and that education and experience are essential before any people can appreciate and exercise that government which we enjoy and which we believe is the best that human wisdom has devised."

Having exhaustively discussed the powers of Congress, the conditions of the people of Porto Rico, and the political soundness of the position he had taken, the Senator concluded his remarks with the following words in giving his adhesion to the pending bill:

"We should approach and consider the subject before us in no illiberal or dogmatic spirit. No matter what shades of opinion with respect to the best course to be pursued and the wisest measures to be adopted with reference to Porto Rico, there is perfect unity of purpose among all parties to provide the most liberal form of government and just laws under which her welfare may be promoted in the very highest degree. The pending bill commands my judgment, my conscience; it shall have my vote. It has not been given to finite mind to read the future of Porto Rico, but we may believe that under the inspiration of republican laws and the impetus of American example her people will grow in knowledge, strength and power, and forever bless the great Republic."

CHAPTER X.

THE JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.

WHEN Mr. McKinley entered upon the discharge of his duties as President several very grave and important questions were pending with Canada, among them being the boundary of Alaska. The United States had purchased all the rights of Russia over the Alaskan territory, and until the discovery of rich gold fields in that country there was little thought or care as to where the actual boundary lines were. The discovery of gold, however, at once made these lines a serious question, especially as Canada laid claim to much more territory than the United States was willing to accord. The dispute waxed warm between the two countries, but at no time seriously threatened to involve us with our neighbor.

In May, 1896, a protocol was signed between the United States and Great Britain for the appointment of a Joint High Commission for the adjustment of the Canadian questions. The commission was to be composed of ten commissioners, five of whom were to be appointed by each government. Later the com-

mission was increased to twelve members, six from each country.

There were several questions to be submitted for the consideration and determination of the commission. Many of them were of long standing and of great importance, and it was desired by the two countries to have them considered by the commission and finally put to rest. They had been the source of more or less friction between the two great powers for many years, and the two governments anxiously desired to have them adjusted in order that good neighborhood between them might not be disturbed. The principal subjects submitted were as follows:

First. The questions in respect to the fur seals in Bering Sea and the waters of the North Pacific Ocean.

Second. Provisions in respect to the fisheries off the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and in the waters of their common frontier.

Third. Provisions for the delimitation and establishment of the Alaska-Canadian boundary, by legal and scientific experts, if the commission shall so decide, or otherwise.

Fourth. Provisions for the transit of merchandise in transportation to or from either country, across intermediate territory of the other, whether by land or water, including natural and artificial waterways and intermediate transit by sea.

Fifth. Provisions relating to the transit of mer-

chandise from one country to be delivered at points in the other beyond the frontier.

Sixth. The question of the alien labor laws applicable to the subjects or citizens of the United States and of Canada.

Seventh. Mining rights of the citizens or subjects of each country within the territory of the other.

Eighth. Such readjustment and concessions as may be deemed mutually advantageous of customs duties applicable in each country to the products of the soil or industry of the other, upon the basis of reciprocal equivalents.

Ninth. A revision of the agreement of 1817 respecting naval vessels on the lakes.

Tenth. Arrangements for the more complete definition and marking of any part of the frontier line, by land or water, where the same is now so inefficiently defined or marked as to be liable to dispute.

Eleventh. Provisions for the conveyance for trial or punishment of persons in the lawful custody of the officers of one country through the territory of the other.

Twelfth. Reciprocity in wrecking and salvage rights.

President McKinley appointed as Commissioners of the United States :

Charles W. Fairbanks, United States Senator from Indiana ;

George Gray, United States Senator from Delaware ;

Nelson Dingley, Member of Congress from Maine;

John W. Foster, of Indiana, ex-Secretary of State;

John A. Kasson, of Iowa, ex-Minister to Spain;

T. Jefferson Coolidge, of Massachusetts, ex-Minister to France.

Senator Fairbanks was made Chairman of the American Commissioners.

Great Britain appointed:

Lord Herschel, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain;

Sir Wilfred Laurier, Premier of Canada;

Sir Richard J. Cartwright, Minister of Finance of Canada;

Sir Louis Davies, Minister of Marines and Fisheries of Canada;

John Carlton, Member of the Canadian Parliament;

Sir James Winter, Premier of Newfoundland.

The commission met at Quebec in August, 1898, and addressed itself to the consideration of the subjects embraced in the protocol. After being in session some weeks it adjourned to meet in Washington. It assembled in the latter place in December, 1898. There it labored for several months in an effort to compose the differences between the two powers. The commission practically determined many of the questions submitted, but the differences which arose

with respect to the Alaskan boundary made a recess necessary, without the final adjustment of any of the questions pending before it.

The American Commissioners urged the settlement of those questions which were substantially agreed upon, leaving the boundary question for the determination of the two governments; but the British Commissioners declined to proceed with the further consideration of the remaining questions while the boundary question was undetermined.

The Joint High Commission issued a statement showing the status of the negotiations and that an agreement had been reached practically on many of the questions, but that on the Alaskan boundary no agreement was possible; that the British Commissioners favored a submission of that question to arbitration, but the American Commissioners would not agree to submit to a foreign arbitrator the question as to the coast line boundary.

After the adjournment of the Washington meeting of the commission without reaching any definite results, Senator Fairbanks, at the instance of President McKinley, visited Alaska to obtain what light he could on the question in dispute. He visited all the waterways and studied the topography of the country. He also made extensive inquiries of the residents as to what jurisdiction, if any, had been exercised by Great Britain over any portion of the disputed territory.

On August 18, 1901, Senator Fairbanks reviewed the work of the Commission and suggested its reassembling, to resume the consideration of the subjects that admitted of ready solution. Respecting the boundary dispute he said:

“We can not submit to a foreign arbitrator the determination of the Alaska coast line, under the treaty between the United States and Russia of 1867. That line was established by the convention of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia. The coast line was carefully safeguarded by Russia, and the United States has invariably insisted that it should not be broken. Its integrity was never questioned by Great Britain until after the protocol of May, 1898.

“In short, ‘the views of the British government in regard to the bearing of the treaty of 1825 upon the territorial rights around the upper part of the Lynn Canal,’ which are now entertained by that government, were not brought to the attention of the United States until May, 1898.

“The boundary back of the coast line is not well-defined, and should be established, and with as much dispatch as is reasonably possible. We do not disagree as to this. We have been disposed to be liberal with respect to providing for its suitable delimitation, but as to that territory so long possessed by the United States upon the Pacific coast and occupied by it without challenge from any other power, we find no subject whatever for the consideration of an arbi-

tral tribunal. We are unwilling, through an European arbitrator, to put in peril our Pacific coast line, which was maintained unbroken by Russia and the United States, and remained unquestioned for nearly seventy-five years.

“Our negotiations have been characterized by a spirit of mutual respect and good will, and by a desire of the respective commissioners to promote good neighborhood between the two governments, which must ever sustain toward each other the most intimate commercial and social relations.

“The American Commissioners always have desired, and desire still, to determine and remove from dispute as many controverted questions as possible, in order that the good relations of the two governments may still continue unbroken. They are in no wise interdependent, and the settlement of any number of them will not, as we believe, prejudice the ultimate disposition of the boundary question. But, as much as we desire to conclude the questions which we have practically determined, we can not consent to settle them upon the condition that we must abandon to the chance of an European arbitrator a part of the domain of the United States upon which American citizens have actually built their homes and erected their industries long prior to any suggestion from Great Britain that she had any claim of right thereto. We are not to be understood, from the foregoing, as opposing a board of jurists of repute, or scientific ex-

perts, selected equally by our respective governments, to determine and demark the boundary back of or east of the coast line on the main land.

"Inasmuch as the Alaska boundary is a subject which stands by itself, and is, by the action of the commission, remitted to the two governments, may we not leave it with them, and proceed to further consider and dispose of the remaining questions at some date mutually convenient? They, or the most of them, are so advanced that they can be concluded at a brief sitting.

"I shall be gratified to be assured that this is quite agreeable to you.

"The views herein expressed, I am pleased to say, have the sanction of the President and of the Secretary of State."

In 1902 the United States and Great Britain agreed upon a Boundary Tribunal composed of six jurists of repute, three of whom were appointed by each government. This was the tribunal proposed by the American members of the Joint High Commission, but which was then rejected by the British Commission.

The members of the Boundary Commission appointed by the United States were:

The Honorable Elihu Root, Secretary of War; Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Senator from Massachusetts; and George Turner, United States Senator from Washington.

The commission was organized and sat in London, and after elaborate hearings four members of the commission (the Lord Chief Justice of England joining with the three American Commissioners) held that the construction of the treaty under which the United States acquired Alaska was substantially as claimed by the United States, thus justifying the position maintained by the United States Commissioners before the Joint High Commission.

Of the work of the Joint High Commission and the ability displayed by Senator Fairbanks, Hon. John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State, and one of the American Commissioners, in a recent communication thus speaks:

“During the administration of President McKinley it was deemed desirable to make an earnest effort to adjust the various questions between the United States and Canada, some of which had been the source of controversy between the two neighboring countries for generations, and all of which tended to disturb the harmony of their relations.

“Among these were the Northeastern fisheries, which had been the fruitful source of discussion and negotiations for a hundred years; the Bering Sea seal industry, which had at one time threatened war with Great Britain and had been the subject of international arbitration, but was still a vexed and unsettled question; the Alaskan boundary dispute, a topic likely at any time to bring about a conflict of

authorities; commercial reciprocity, a subject in which the Canadians and certain sections of the United States took a deep interest; the bonding privilege, intimately connected with our interstate commerce laws and the unequal competition of the Canadian railroads; and several other questions, as naval armament on the Great Lakes, reciprocal mining privileges, immigration and the labor laws, more accurate marking of the international boundary, etc., embracing no less than twelve different subjects.

“It was determined to refer all these matters to a Joint High Commission, and six persons were selected by the United States and an equal number by Great Britain. For members of this commission it was the desire of President McKinley to name statesmen of large experience and the highest standing, as it was known that the British members would be men of prominence and ability. It was a most distinguished honor that Senator Fairbanks should be chosen as chairman of the American Commission, especially as there were associated with him men of much longer experience in the public service. The British Commission was headed by Lord Herschel, the Lord Chancellor and the recognized head of the English bar, and next on the Commission was Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Prime Minister of Canada, a resourceful and brilliant statesman.

“During the years 1898 and 1899 the Joint High Commission held two sessions in Quebec and two in

Washington, and went very fully over the important subjects committed to it for adjustment. On several of these it reached practically satisfactory conclusions, which would have taken the shape of treaty stipulations, but for an irreconcilable difference of opinion respecting the Alaskan boundary. Because of a failure to agree to an adjustment of this matter, the British members of the Commission refused to come to an agreement on any other of the questions before it, and the Commission adjourned to meet again whenever convened by the chairmen of the two sections.

"The Alaskan boundary controversy has happily been satisfactorily settled by the London Joint Tribunal, and this result, so gratifying to the United States, was largely due to the work of the Joint High Commission. Senator Fairbanks was a member of the sub-committee having the Alaskan boundary in charge, and he took a deep interest in shaping the issues which were eventually submitted to the London Tribunal.

"The other questions before the Commission still remain unsettled, because, owing to the irritation in Canada over the Alaskan boundary decision, the Commission has not as yet been reassembled; but the work already accomplished has not been in vain. If that body does not again come together, its work is in the hands of the two governments, and it is quite feasible for them to take up and adjust several

of the matters which were practically agreed upon by the Commission.

“It is a matter of pride to Americans to be assured that in all the deliberations of the Commission, when he was confronted by the ablest lawyers and statesmen of England and Canada, Senator Fairbanks sustained the cause of his country with skill and success, and represented it with great dignity and uniform courtesy.”

CHAPTER XI.

THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT MCKINLEY.

IN 1900 President McKinley was nominated and elected to succeed himself. The intimacy and friendship between the Senator and the President continually increased, and so highly did the President regard the abilities of his Indiana friend that he gave him notice that it was his intention in the near future to invite him into his Cabinet. On the sixth day of September, 1901, a terrible blow fell upon the American people, and for the third time within a third of a century an American President was stricken down by the hand of an assassin. This great calamity touched all Americans. It was a blow at law and order.

For six years Mr. Fairbanks had been on terms of the closest intimacy with Mr. McKinley. The President relied much on the judgment and sagacity of the Senator; the Senator had an exalted estimate of the ability and patriotism of the President. Under these circumstances the blow fell with peculiar force on Senator Fairbanks. To the nation it was the President who had been slain; to Senator Fair-

banks it was a loved friend. When the bullet of the assassin had found its mark all thought the end had come, but a few days later it was announced that the stricken President would recover. Senator Fairbanks had been at the bedside of his friend and chief, but when this cheering word from the surgeons was received he left Buffalo to fulfill an engagement to address a Thanksgiving service of the Grand Army of the Republic at Cleveland, Ohio, to be presided over by Senator Hanna. That great body of patriotic men, who had served their country on the field of battle in the hour of the country's direst need, held a Thanksgiving service over the announcement that the President was to yet live. Senator Fairbanks paid a glowing tribute to the character of the President, and said:

"Fellow citizens, it is a source of gratification to know that in the solution and settlement of the great problems and great questions which are yet pending before the American people, undetermined, we shall have the wise statesmanship of William McKinley. We not only want him, and wish him to live for that, but we wish him to live as the American people wished that Abraham Lincoln might live, until he can see the full fruition of his administration, and live many years to receive the grateful homage of a grateful republic. . . . My friends, let us retire to our homes with a profounder reverence for law and order; let us return to our

homes and continue at the fireside our supplication to the Allwise Ruler that He speed the hour when the brave President of the United States will leave his bed of pain and walk again among the people he loves so well, in the full possession of his health and his magnificent manhood."

Hardly had these words died away on the air when the startling news came that the great President was dead. The country was shrouded in grief, and all the nations of the earth joined America in mourning over the awful crime.

In October, 1901, he addressed a campfire of the Sixty-ninth Indiana and paid a tribute to the memory of the late President, and thus spoke of the crime that took from the country its Chief Executive:

"I speak only the truth when I say that when the tragedy occurred at Buffalo Democrats and Republicans felt that a crime had been committed against them each alike. It seems yet like a horrid nightmare. What had this man done to deserve such a fate? One of the kindest, one of the bravest, and one of the best. . . . The blow was not struck alone at him; it was a blow struck at the state. Anarchy! What a hated word! Anarchists—how at war with all our conceptions of right, of orderly government! Anarchists! There is no room in this Republic, great and splendid as it is, for anarchy! The red flag must go down in the face

of the Stars and Stripes! The anarchist is the enemy of all governments, monarchial and republican alike. There ought to be treaties between the various governments in the civilized world leaving no spot for anarchy to place its foot short of perdition itself."

President McKinley worshiped at the Metropolitan Methodist Church at Washington, and a few months after his death a tablet to his memory was placed in the church. On that occasion Senator Fairbanks was one of the speakers. His short speech was a generous tribute to the worth of the martyred President. Because of its correct estimate of the character of Mr. McKinley, and because it evidences the sincere feeling and affection of the Senator, it is reproduced here:

"My friends, we are met to perform a most gracious service—to dedicate here, in this house of God, a tablet to one of the few names that was born to never die. We stand upon ground made sacred by the presence of William McKinley. Unto this shrine the Christians will come in the unnumbered years before us and derive new hope and inspiration. It seems but yesterday that our friend occupied yonder pew, brave, strong, in the very plenitude of power, the most beloved of our fellow-men. We can yet almost hear his voice as it was raised in song and thanksgiving. Here he came upon the Sabbath day to pay tribute to his Maker, for he was a sincere believer in religion, a devout Christian and a doer

of Christian deeds. He not only taught but carried the great truths into every act and deed of his life.

"It was here he found solace from the great and arduous responsibilities which rested upon him, and drew courage and inspiration to meet and discharge them. It does not seem that it was but a few months ago, less than one brief year, that our friend was here. It is, indeed, but a short time, measured by the calendar, but measured by events how long it is. What mighty events have come and gone; how the great heart of the nation has been wrung with an uncommon sorrow. The tragedy at Buffalo was the master crime of the new century. We could not at first believe the awful truth—it was so unnatural. We stood bereft of speech. Who could be so dead to all sense of pity as to strike down one who so loved his fellow-men? About us everywhere were the ample evidences of peace. Sectional differences were dead; a fraternal spirit was everywhere, and under the guidance of our great President we were moving on to a splendid national destiny.

"The theme which this occasion suggests is a great one—too vast for the brief hour in which we are assembled. There is in all the world nothing so great and beneficent as a good name. It raises our poor humanity to a more exalted plane. It lifts us into an 'ampler ether and diviner air.' William McKinley was, in the fullest and best sense of the word, 'of the people.' He rose by the force of his genius

from an humble beginning to stand among the greatest of men. He sought to interpret the public will, knowing full well that the wisdom of the people is unerring, that their voice is indeed the voice of Almighty God. He inspired confidence among men in the integrity of his purpose and in the wisdom of his policies. He was a total stranger to arts by which weaker men seek to attain place and power. He did not attempt to rise upon men; he preferred to rise with them. His mind and heart were filled with no shadow of hate; the sunshine of love, affection and human sympathy filled them to overflowing. He was in the truest and best sense a patriot. He gave the best years of his life—he gave life itself to his country. . . . In the National House of Representatives he won enduring fame by his intelligent service and complete consecration to the interests of his fellow-men. His every act was characterized by a high conception of his exalted trust. When summoned by the voice of his countrymen to the chief office in the Republic he entered upon its grave and difficult duties with a full consciousness of the tremendous responsibility that rested upon him. He reverently invoked wisdom from on high that he might well discharge the task that had come to him.

“When others sought to plunge the Nation into war he stood against it with all his power. He abhorred it, although knowing full well that victory

must crown our arms if war should come, and that the prestige of his name would fill the earth. He thought not of that, but of the loss and suffering the war must bring. And not until all pacific means had been exhausted and the national honor commanded did he consent that his country should draw the sword. When obliged to strike he struck rapidly and with terrific power, and upon the ruins of monarchy he planted republican institutions.

"The multitude will come and look on yonder tablet and in time it will crumble away. Monuments will arise throughout the land and disappear. Canvas will seek to perpetuate and be forgotten, but the name of our friend will live. His enduring tribute will be found in the hearts of the people so long as this great Republic endures. Long after we have lived our brief hour and the physical monuments we have raised have been resolved into the dust, the pure, patriotic and holy influence of William McKinley will continue to be an inspiration and benediction among men."

So well was the intimate friendship that existed between the Senator and the President known that on several occasions where a tribute was to be paid to the memory of the President Mr. Fairbanks was invited to deliver an address. The most notable of these occasions was the unveiling of the McKinley monument at Toledo, Ohio, on September 14, 1903. On that occasion the Senator delivered an elaborate

address in which he reviewed the life and public services of Mr. McKinley. The soldier, the man, the Representative in Congress, the Governor, the President, all passed in review before the audience. It was not alone the tribute of an eulogist, but the tribute of one acute mind to the public services of another. As a citizen Mr. Fairbanks had lost his President; as a party man he had lost his political chief; as a friend he had lost a brother; and in paying his great tribute at Toledo to the dead he spoke as a citizen and a friend, but not as a party man.

CHAPTER XII.

OTHER SERVICES IN THE SENATE.

ONE of the perplexing problems that have been before Congress—the one that has given the widest latitude to debate—has been the future of the Philippine Islands. They fell to us at the conclusion of the war with Spain, and they have been a bone of contention between the two great parties ever since. Against the holding of them by the United States the cry of “imperialism” was raised. All seemingly admitted that, having dispossessed Spain, it was the duty of this Government to establish peace and order—a duty we owed to humanity, to other nations, and to ourselves, but the people divided on the question of what was to be done with the islands after peace and order was established. It was a question on which there might well be a difference of opinion among the good and the patriotic of this country. How to govern the islands, how much liberty to give to the people, how far political liberty should be restricted, engaged the earnest thought of our statesmen.

As a mere question of territorial expansion, few,

possibly, could be found to advocate the taking and holding possession of the archipelago, but other considerations moved the commissioners who negotiated, on the part of the United States, the treaty of Paris. In 1902 a bill to provide a temporary government for the Philippines was pending before the Senate. The committee that had the bill under consideration divided and two reports were made. That of the minority called for an immediate declaration of the future purpose of the United States in regard to the islands.

The debate was long and at times acrimonious. Many charges were made against the administration of the late President McKinley. He was accused of having overthrown a republic; of having set up a government without the consent of the governed, and of having done many other things contrary to the traditions of this country. The debate spread from the Congress to the country, and the newspapers and political orators at home joined in the hue and cry, some demanding an immediate withdrawal from the Philippines, and others, with equal vigor, contending that we should continue to hold the islands.

There were some members of Congress who did not lose themselves or their calm deliberation in this whirlwind of political debate, for that is what the debate had degenerated to. Among these was Senator Fairbanks. He did not take part in the debate

until near its close, when he delivered a speech reviewing the history of our possession of the islands, the course pursued in their government up to that time, and the improved condition of the people. It was a calm, earnest and faithful presentation of the facts, and contained many gems of thought that have characterized in so marked a degree all of his public speeches. Take a few of them:

"There has been considerable debate as to whether the Constitution follows the flag. No matter how diverse and conflicting our opinions may be on this subject, there is one opinion which we all entertain, and that is, that the American schoolhouse follows the flag."

"I believe we shall find in the magic of the school-room a potential influence working for the advancement of civilization, good order and civil government in the Philippines."

"It is a gratifying and reassuring fact, indeed, that the people are so sensitive of the national honor, and that they will not sanction any supposed breach of it."

"The questions of human rights and human liberty are the potential questions which have summoned our mightiest armies and have assembled our fleets and stirred our country to the utmost depths."

"It will indeed be a sad hour for the Republic when the President shall love peace less than war."

"Opposition to the efforts of the Government to

assert its lawful authority has never been regarded with favor. We erect no monuments to commemorate the efforts, no matter how earnestly and honestly they may have been rendered, of those who put themselves in the pathway of national duty and progress."

"I base my opinion upon the broad ground that all wisdom and all patriotism will not die with us, and that those who will follow us and who will, in all probability, be obliged to deal with these questions, will be as enlightened and animated by as exalted sense of justice, and be in every respect as sensitive of the national honor as we."

"There need be no fear, no matter what political party may be in power, for the time being, that there will ever go upon the statute books of the United States a solitary oppressive act, or any measure which shall not be inspired by a sense of the fundamental principles of republican government."

"Havana and Manila and Santiago and Buffalo tell of the mighty cost of human liberty; they chasten us; they show how narrow is the boundary set to our finite vision, and how we should address ourselves to the duties of the hour and courageously and hopefully await the demands of the future; they show that moral duties abide with nations as with men."

The whole speech showed the careful study and well-balanced thought of a statesman, and led the debate back from the morass of partyism to the con-

sideration of the pending measure. In the consideration of all grave subjects before the Senate he sank the partisan and squared his actions by the rule, "What is wisest, what is best?" His whole senatorial career will be searched in vain for a display of partisanship.

Another one of the great questions before Congress in which Senator Fairbanks took a deep interest was that of excluding Chinese immigrants. This had been an important question for many years. It had been the subject of treaty with the Chinese Empire, and several laws have been enacted intending to limit and control immigration from China. Before taking part in the debate of any question Senator Fairbanks always made as thorough a study of it as possible, and he followed this rule when the Chinese question was pending. One of the first declarations he made in his speech was: "The duty to preserve the purity of the currents which vitally affect the standard of our citizenship is plain and imperative," and it was along that broad line he proceeded in his argument favoring the passage of the pending bill. He demonstrated that he was thoroughly informed as to all prior exclusion legislation and the terms of the existing treaties, and of the effect of Chinese labor in this country. Beside the details of legislation, and of treaties the speech contained many thoughtful declarations. Among other things he said:

"We value our broad fields, our great cities. They

stimulate our pride, but above and beyond all that, as great and splendid as they are, we value our citizenship. It is, indeed, our chief glory. It means more to us, more to our children and to their children, more to the future strength and majesty of the Republic than all of the myriad material things which surround us."

"A high order of citizenship is the chief end and aim of the Republic. We establish schools and found universities that they may elevate our people to a higher and better and broader plane. We have a care for the humblest among us. We want men and women who are in love with our institutions, and who will support and defend them, and transmit them unimpaired to posterity."

"They [the Chinese] do not harmonize with us. Upon their admission they become an undigested and undigestible mass."

"In the final analysis, great issues which engage our attention from time to time, in fact the destiny of the Republic, are determined at the American fireside. Abolish the American home and the days of the Republic are numbered."

The seven years of service in the Senate of Mr. Fairbanks have been laborious years. His labors were not confined to preparing speeches on the important questions that have arisen during his service, but much the greater part has been given to work in the committee-room. His habits of industry

would not permit him to be idle, and his exalted ideas of the duties he had assumed impelled him to give his time and his labor to the work before him. There is no record of the committee labor he performed, but his colleagues all bear willing testimony to his untiring industry, and it was in the precincts of the committee-room that he impressed his colleagues with his really great abilities and his conscientious regard for the interests of the people. To any measure to which he could not give the conscientious approval of his judgment he would not listen or advocate.

When the great disaster overwhelmed the unfortunate people of Martinique Senator Fairbanks promptly introduced a bill appropriating \$100,000 for the relief of the sufferers. The bill was speedily passed. For this prompt expression of sympathy Ambassador Cambon sent the Senator the following note of appreciation:

“Ambassade de France aux Etats-Unis,

“Washington, D. C.

“My Dear Senator—It was very thoughtful and generous of you to introduce and press for passage through the Senate the bill for the relief of the needy survivors of the Island of Martinique. I desire to thank you in my own name and those of the people whose distress you sought to alleviate, and to say that your action, which promises to be of incalculable benefit to the sufferers, will remain al-

ways a subject of tender appreciation by the citizens of the French Republic. Very sincerely yours,

“JULES CAMBON.

“May 10, 1902.”

The Republican party had pledged itself to the speedy construction of an isthmian canal. A bill was introduced in Congress providing for the construction of the canal. When it reached the Senate Mr. Fairbanks, desiring to insure the speedy beginning of the work and the rapid pushing of it to completion, offered an amendment to the bill providing for the sale of bonds with which to pay the cost of construction. This not only provided the money necessary, but put it beyond the power to delay the work for want of an appropriation at any time, and it also put a part of the burden of construction on the next generation that is to receive the greatest benefit.

For years there has been a growing sentiment in favor of settling all differences between nations by international arbitration. To advance this movement a great meeting was called by some of the leading citizens of this country to be held at Washington. The matter was presented to the United States Senate, and was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. There it was referred to a subcommittee consisting of Senators Frye, of Maine, Fairbanks, of Indiana, and Senator Morgan, of Alabama. In an interview, published in the New York

Herald, Senator Fairbanks gave this expression of his views:

"There is a wholesome and increasing desire for some method of adjusting differences between nations in some other manner than by an appeal to the sword. A resort to force to settle international disputes would seem to be unnecessary, yet that has been a too frequent means of adjustment for many centuries. There has been no hour scarcely in all the history of human experience when there might not be heard in some quarter the harsh notes of war between nations seeking to compose their differences.

"We are wont to think that we live in the most advanced period of human development, an age when men are wiser and more just than they have been. Yet the flames of war light up the Far East. How much blood will be shed or how much money wasted to settle the questions which diplomacy has failed to settle no finite wisdom can determine.

"The question recurs as often as we witness the devastating effects of international strife. Can not the wit of man devise some agency whereby to avert it in whole or in good part? Can not men reason and solve grave questions in the deliberative chamber as well as upon the battlefield? Can not men successfully discuss questions of international significance in the serene tribunals of peace as well as upon the decks of men-of-war, with the air filled with the missiles of death and destruction?

"The arbitral tribunal affords a ready, fair and honorable way of determining most of the disputes which arise between nations. It will not be efficacious in all cases, but that it is capable of settling many and serious problems there can be no possible doubt. This agency may be invoked without the loss of national dignity or national self-respect in adjusting a vast range of international differences.

"Territorial disputes may in exceptional cases be readily and properly arbitrated. In comparatively recent years the Venezuelan boundary was settled by arbitration and in a manner entirely consistent with the honor of the parties concerned. The Alaskan boundary was settled by a tribunal created by the United States and Great Britain. It was not an arbitral tribunal, but a commission composed of six jurists, divided equally. There was no independent arbitrator, yet a decision was reached in a friendly way and a cause of serious difference was forever settled.

"The Hague tribunal is a great and important step forward—one of the most significant in recent years. It is in its experimental stages, yet it has already accomplished enough to justify its creation.

"The strongest nations can well lead the way in promoting the principle of international arbitration. Their motives will not be questioned and their example will have a far-reaching and beneficent influence. The principle is essentially sound. It should re-

ceive, as it is receiving, the utmost consideration at the hands of the statesman and student of public questions, to the end that it may become an acknowledged, permanent international policy. It makes for peace; it will become an effective agency to avert war.

“The move recently made in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations looking to some plan of international arbitration to go a bit beyond The Hague conference is the most important step of this character ever taken in this country. After waiting two years the Senate Committee has at last reported favorably the treaty for the arbitration of pecuniary claims among the countries of the Western Hemisphere. This also is an important step in the right direction, and will receive the support of public opinion. Indeed, public opinion in this country, I think, has stimulated the Senate to action, and while it may take time to develop a practical scheme of international arbitration to which all countries will agree, a beginning has been made, and it is eminently proper that this country should take the initiative.”

CHAPTER XIII.

MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES.

SENATOR FAIRBANKS has been a very popular orator for almost all kinds of occasions. On the stump, addressing the people on the political issues of the day, few draw larger or more attentive and appreciative audiences. As has already been shown, in the Senate he always commanded the respectful and earnest attention of his colleagues, never speaking to the galleries. As a speaker he is especially popular at political and social clubs, and the invitations that come to him from such sources are many times in excess of the hours he can give to such work. He has delivered several literary addresses and spoken to graduating classes at colleges. The most notable of these was his address at Baker University, Kansas, in 1901. It was an eloquent presentation of the duties and possibilities that lay before the students who were about to leave the college and enter on the broader sphere of life. The following passages are samples of the whole:

“Commencement Day has no fellow. There is no other day in all the year like unto it. It is full of

sweetness and life, of pleasant reminiscence and of happy expectation. It is essentially the day of youth, of splendid young womanhood and noble young manhood. Our elders live over the blessed days which have faded into the past, and are themselves young again. It is not the day of the pessimist, but is the hour of the optimist. It is the time when the virtues which dignify and glorify humanity amplest fruitage bear, and when we behold the splendor of our institutions, not with the eye of a mere political partisan, nor with the vision of a sordid materialist."

"Your scholastic course crowned the old century with its tremendous achievements. In all the centuries that are passed not one was filled with such mighty and significant events in the onward march of humanity. No such tremendous advance was before made in knowledge, in the arts. Science seems to have revealed the most hidden and important secrets of nature. She has scanned the heavens and fathomed the seas. She has asserted dominion over the enemies of man and made them his obedient servants. Fire and water and electricity have been made to do his bidding in countless ways. Time and space have been reduced in international communication and the world made relatively smaller; in fact, it has been reduced to a vast neighborhood. The zone of human liberty has been extended until about the greater portion of the globe man recognizes no master except Almighty God. The beams of civilization and right-

eousness are 'cast afar,' and where they penetrate slavery and serfdom vanish as vice before virtue."

"You will meet with both encouragement and discouragement. The way may sometimes look dark and the future unpromising, but with stout heart, upright purpose and complete consecration to your work you can and should win success. Walk erect; be self-reliant. In the final analysis your victories must be won through your own strong right arm. The way to place and power is open to all alike. Your future is to be determined not by the accident of birth, not by what your ancestors were, but by what you are, by what you shall yourselves accomplish. Stand fast for the maintenance of civil and religious liberty, for the preservation of these two great fundamental doctrines for which our forefathers contended with titanic power."

"Promote civic righteousness; do not avoid the caucus, fearing it will contaminate you, but attend it to the end that it may not contaminate the State. In the ballot-box our liberties are compounded. See to it that it gives true expression of the public will. Preserve it from pollution; protect it and defend it as you would preserve the Ark of the Covenant, for it has been purchased by the priceless blood of countless heroes upon the battlefields of the Republic."

"The greater knowledge the student bears hence, the heavier his civic obligations. The splendid national fabric, the like of which you have not thus far

discovered in your historic research, is the fruit of the wisdom and patriotism of your fathers, and it must not be given over to those who comprehend not its full and splendid significance."

"What is the measure of success in life? We regard that life the most successful which has done most under its particular environment for the welfare and happiness of others. The person who is wholly self-centered is neither fit to live nor to die, and dying would, perhaps, better become him. The man who gathers and hoards his money merely that he may feast his covetous eyes upon it is of no earthly use to man or beast. The student who does not yield the rich treasure of his mind for the benefit of others is of little more worth to mankind than gold which lies forever buried in the lowest depths of earth, beyond the reach of man."

"We erect monuments to men because they have done something in behalf of other men; because they have rendered service to others. We invoke canvas and marble and granite and bronze to commemorate their unselfish deeds. We pay no tribute to others."

"The immortals are those who live beyond this brief hour, in things accomplished; accomplished for others, and not alone for self. Neither greed nor vanity has fellowship with immortality."

"Carry into every act a conscience. Win, if you may, the approval of your fellowmen, but above and beyond all, win the approval of your own conscience.

Royalty can confer no decoration which will yield such enduring joy as the approval of one's own conscience. Neither place nor power nor the world's applause can bring the measure of satisfaction, the inexpressible ecstasy, which comes from the approval of that imperious censor, our own conscience. With its approval we can dare all, suffer all, do all."

One of the happiest of the miscellaneous addresses of Senator Fairbanks is the one he delivered at the German Day celebration in Indianapolis in 1899. It was a great occasion for the Senator, for it gave him the opportunity to teach patriotism and love of country. He is never so happy as when inculcating good citizenship. A large part of the citizenship of Indiana is made up of persons of foreign birth or foreign parentage, and much of the greatness and prosperity of the commonwealth is due to that class of her population. It was a great audience that gathered on the 3d of September, 1899, to hear the Senator.

"This is indeed a fit occasion," he said, "upon which to acknowledge the supremacy of American institutions and proclaim anew our undying pride and glory in American citizenship. Great and splendid it is to be a German citizen, but greater and still more splendid it is to be an American citizen. No matter whether you are from Germany or from Ireland or from England or from France; no matter from what country you may come, your proudest boast is that you are an American citizen, and that

you are enamored of the institutions of the great Republic."

"America! The sublimest word in the human tongue! What limitless opportunities are here. The way to place and power is alike open to the lowest and highest; to native and foreign-born alike."

"The Germans are found in every avenue of usefulness, doing their full duty as loyal American citizens. They have taken a conspicuous place at the bar; they preside in our courts of justice; they participate in politics; they have contributed some of the foremost statesmen in the history of the Government; they fill chairs in our great universities; they occupy the pulpit; they have increased the power of the press; they have added to our literature; they have helped to fell the forest and reclaim the waste places; they have been upon the frontier line of civilization, and, in brief, they are found in every branch of intellectual and commercial activity. Whenever the call to arms has come, they have marched down to the battlefields of the Republic and shown the world how patriots can do and die."

"I have no sort of sympathy with those who, for some occult reason are attempting to foment discord between the United States and the German Empire. There is no reason why these two great nations should not continue to exist upon terms of amity. We should cultivate friendly relations not only with Germany, but with all the other great powers of the earth. We

can never forget—at least we never should forget—that Frederick the Great was the first to recognize the birth of the Republic out of the throes of the Revolution; and that during the great civil war we had little to encourage us among many of the European powers, but Germany never ceased to manifest her belief in the eternal justice and her faith in the ultimate triumph of our cause.”

“The Germans are usually found on the side of good government. They carry into the service of the State the same wholesome, practical ideas of economy and loyalty to trust which they practice in their domestic affairs. They hold public officials to a high accountability, and this is well. Official place is a trust of the highest moment, and should be executed not for the exploitation of personal selfish ends, or for personal aggrandizement, but for the advancement and promotion of the interests of the entire body politic, and for the glory of the State. Breach of public trust should rank among the unpardonable sins. An official who will win the public confidence and basely betray it is unworthy to enjoy the priceless boon of American citizenship, and should be whipped out of place and power.”

One of the strong traits of Senator Fairbanks' character is his unselfish and clear estimate of others who are or have been prominent in the Government. He possesses a power of selecting the strong points in the character of others, whether they are political

friends or enemies. The late Senator Morton, the great war Governor of Indiana, died when Mr. Fairbanks had been a resident of Indianapolis less than three years. In March, 1900, the State presented to Congress a statue of the great Senator and Governor, to occupy a place in Statuary Hall. Senator Fairbanks, as senior Senator, delivered an address, in which he drew a picture of Mr. Morton that was a just and true estimate of his character and abilities. He said:

“Oliver Perry Morton was one of the commanding figures of the United States during the most heroic period of her history. He impressed himself upon his State and the Nation by the force of his commanding genius, and the history of neither State nor Nation would be complete without the story of his life and work.”

“The records of the Senate bear the amplest testimony to the extent and merit of his work. He was neither a trimmer nor a time-server, and neither avoided nor evaded issues. No matter what the issue, he met it courageously, fearlessly. During his service in the Senate he participated in all the most important debates which engaged its attention. He was an aggressive and zealous advocate of the policy of reconstruction.”

“He was a total stranger in the arts of the demagogue. He was too great to descend to intrigue or to desire success otherwise than through the merit

and force of his cause. He was frequently the object of the envy and the intrigue of men; but all efforts to strike him down were futile, and his character was rendered the more luminous by the harmless attempts to destroy it. No dishonorable act detracts from his fame. His hands were clean, his integrity incorruptible. He was a bold but chivalrous political antagonist, for his sense of honor was acute."

CHAPTER XIV.

MR. FAIRBANKS AND ORGANIZED LABOR.

SENATOR FAIRBANKS is and always has been a friend of labor and an advocate of their just rights. He was born to a life of toil. At a very early age he did almost a man's work on the farm of his father. It has been said that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." Whether that is sometimes true or not, it came very near being all work with Mr. Fairbanks in his boyhood days. While attending college he worked with his hands to aid in obtaining the means with which to pay his weekly bills. He knows by hard experience what it is to toil, and from the very first his heart and his feelings have ever gone out to those who are compelled to work for their daily bread.

In his boyhood days the labor question did not attract much attention, but as he grew older and the question became one of more vital importance he was always found advocating the cause of the workingman. In the Senate he was the representative and champion of the Cigarmakers' Union, and in a number of his speeches on questions before the

Senate he spoke in the warmest terms to advance the cause of labor. He was Chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration, and as such chairman reported a bill very largely restricting the admission of immigrants. He supported the bill because it was in the interest of labor. In fact, this was one of the inducements for the introduction of the bill. In speaking of the effects of the admission of pauper labor from Europe, he gave utterance to a sentence that is a keynote to his character. He said: "A low wage scale is not consistent with the most wholesome development of the country and its people." He said the bill "connects itself intimately and inseparably with the labor question."

In a speech he delivered at Pittsburg he said:

"Without harmony between labor and capital there can be no real enduring prosperity and progress. It should be always remembered that each has rights which the other should respect, and that they should dwell together in amity. We should seek to inculcate a sense of justice among men, so that capital shall deal fairly with labor, and labor deal with equal fairness with capital."

He often referred to labor as one of the mighty pillars on which rests our social and political fabric. Whenever discussing the question of sound money he always argued that a debased currency was a wrong committed against labor. He was invited to address the workingmen of Kansas City on Labor

Day, 1902, and his address was a calm, dignified, yet earnest exposition of the question of labor. Among other things he said:

"It is a fitting time to teach our children that labor is honorable, and that only through it can we possibly hope to achieve the beneficent ends for which society is established or government founded. So long as labor is deemed honorable there need be no concern as to the future. There is peril only when labor is regarded as degrading. We are essentially a nation of laborers, and we have no hospitality for human drones. Indeed, the Nation is the rich fruit of labor, for our ancestors—noble and splendid men and women they were—with their strong right arms carved out of the wilderness this great Republic. They felled the forests, founded mighty cities, spanned rivers and knitted together all sections of the country with vast highways of commerce and the telegraph. They have reclaimed the waste places, and on every hand have taught the necessity and the true virtue and dignity of labor."

"We are so bound together as a people that we are necessarily concerned in each other's welfare. Whatever adversely affects any considerable number of our population adversely affects, in a measure, all others, and, conversely, what benefits any considerable number necessarily benefits, in some degree, all others. There is no such thing as complete and absolute independence, and it is well that it is so. Our

interests are so interlaced in the loom of the Almighty that we can not live apart if we would, and we would not if we could."

"Labor organizations have their origin in the instinct of self-preservation, of mutual advancement, of common good, and are as natural and legitimate as the organization of capital. In fact, the organizations of labor and capital go hand in hand. The one is essentially the complement of the other."

"That labor organizations have done much to advance the cause of labor there can be no doubt. They have been earnest advocates of education, knowing full well that knowledge is real power. They have established newspapers throughout the country, intelligently devoted to the promotion of their interests. They have founded benevolences and paid millions of dollars to their membership. They have increased wages where inadequate, and secured reasonable hours of service. They have abolished or modified conditions in the sweat-shops of great cities which were undermining the health and morals of the operatives. They have stood against the abuses of child labor. They have taught the necessity of the observance of contracts, knowing full well that contracts are founded in honor and are the basis of commercial success. They have increased and seek to maintain a higher morale among their membership. They are opposed to anarchy. Anarchy has no greater foe than they. They know that labor's

best interests are dependent upon the maintenance of orderly and stable government."

"Labor must be free, with all the prerogatives which pertain to freedom. It must be free to sell its commodity in the highest market. So capital must be likewise free to buy labor where labor desires to sell its commodity. There must be reciprocity of privilege, reciprocity of opportunity."

"The true solution of the questions arising between labor and capital lies in an awakened public conscience; in a thorough inculcation of the principles of fair dealing among men; in organization, and in wise, humane leadership, and in the establishment of boards of conciliation or arbitration which are absolutely free from the polluting touch of selfish interests or political demagogues, to which the interests concerned may freely and confidently appeal."

"Cheap labor is not the sole end we seek in the United States. It is our pride that this is not a cheap-labor country; that labor is better paid here than in any other country. The sentiment is proclaimed over and over from platform and press. Cheap labor? No. We do not want cheap labor. We want well-paid labor. We desire not only well-paid labor, but want that labor steadily employed."

There is no class of people in the United States more deeply interested in knowing the sentiments and views of those who seek their suffrages than the laboring class. On all matters concerning labor Mr.

Fairbanks has always been open, frank and clear in his statements. He has neither sought to equivocate nor mislead. To organized labor he has said that organization was legitimate, was right, was necessary, but he said that labor, organized or unorganized, must respect the rights of others. A weaker man would have left unsaid some things that Mr. Fairbanks so frankly uttered, but Mr. Fairbanks preferred the more honorable way of frankly telling all his views. It would be well if every workingman in the United States would read and ponder the frank and manly speech delivered at Kansas City.

It has already been said that Senator Fairbanks is a very popular speaker on occasions that are non-political, and on every such occasion has won new laurels for the breadth of his views and the lessons of patriotism, good citizenship, obedience to law and order he has inculcated.

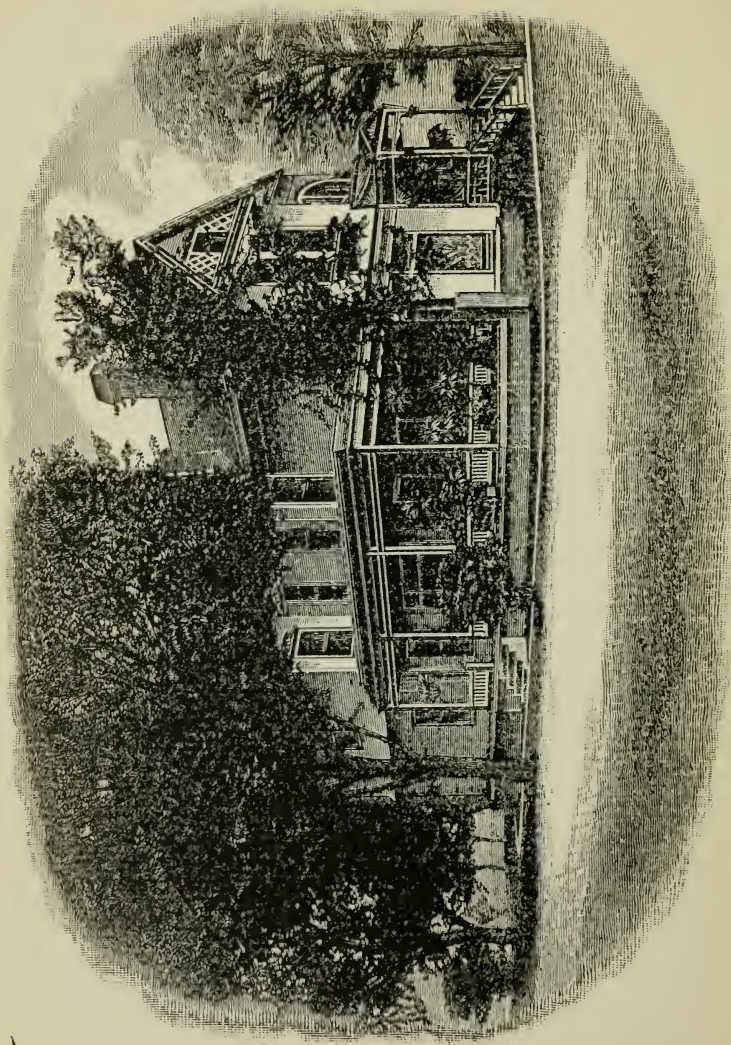
In New Jersey he was the orator on the celebration of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Monmouth; at Lancaster, Massachusetts, he spoke on the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of that town; in Minnesota he addressed the assembled thousands at the State Fair. He has spoken on numerous other like occasions, and always with the approbation of his audience.

CHAPTER XV.

HIS HOME LIFE.

THE home life of Senator Fairbanks has been ideal. Married in early life to one who had won his affections when he was still a student at college, he has found in the wife of his bosom one who has shared in all his struggles, his aspirations, his successes, and joyed in them. She has made his home happy, because she has made it a home in very truth. They had a very modest beginning. Mr. Fairbanks was poor in money wealth, but rich in the determination of purpose to make and hold a place in life, and in integrity and honesty of character. Furnished by love and equipped by high purpose, their home could not have been anything else than a happy one.

Engaged during the hours of the day in a struggle for an established place in his chosen profession, the young husband always gladly turned his steps toward his home when evening came, sure that there he would find sympathy, encouragement and strength for the next day's conflict. Both are by nature domestic in their inclinations, yet they are fond of entertaining their friends, and each is possessed with a



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Mrs. Charles W. Fairbanks

happy faculty for making friends. When economy and saving were necessary, Mrs. Fairbanks willingly and cheerfully saved and economized, but when the future Senator's practice had increased sufficiently to warrant it they moved into a larger and more luxuriously furnished house, but there was no ostentation; it was still all simple, all home-like.

Mr. and Mrs. Fairbanks have been not only husband and wife, but they have been partners, in the fullest and most complete sense of the term. The genial, kindly nature of Mr. Fairbanks won friends, and the kindly, genial nature of the wife fastened them by new and additional ties. It can be said that the circle of personal friends of the Senator is as wide as his circle of acquaintance, and none who has ever visited his home has failed to receive a welcome from Mrs. Fairbanks that made them long to repeat the visit.

Five children, one daughter and four sons, have been born to them. When just beginning active life Mr. Fairbanks declared he would not enter into politics until he had won an established place in his profession and accumulated enough to educate and care for his children. Blessed by a kind Providence, and through his untiring energy, he was able to thus accumulate, and has given to each of his children a collegiate course, except the youngest, and he is now preparing to enter college. The two elder children were graduated from the college which their parents

had attended. This alma mater is very dear to the heart of both Mr. and Mrs. Fairbanks. The Senator has long been a member of its Board of Trustees, and he has several times given liberally to its endowment. The Senator has no warmer or more enthusiastic friends anywhere than he has in the halls of the old Ohio Wesleyan University, and the students and faculty are alike proud of his success and of the high station he has reached.

The Senator and his wife are both members of Meridian Street Methodist Episcopal Church at Indianapolis, and are consistent and earnest Christians. Their Christianity is shown in kindly words spoken or deeds done. "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," and "Love your neighbor as yourself" have been the rules by which they have guided and shaped their lives and their relations with others.

They both enjoy social life, and the charming manners of Mrs. Fairbanks peculiarly fit her for a social leader. In their home life, in their social life, in their church life they have never been ostentatious, but always simple, kindly and earnest. One has been the complement of the other.

Senator Fairbanks is by nature kindly. In him malice or envy or enmity never had a place. He has a friendly word and greeting for every one he meets, and business or public cares never press on him so heavily or so closely occupy his thoughts as

to prevent him stopping long enough to give a grasp of the hand and a pleasant word to his friends. Some years ago, before he entered upon a political life, he said to a friend that when he was a boy he made it a rule of his life to make as many friends as possible, and to avoid making an enemy if it were possible, and he has followed that rule. In his own State he has always been on terms of ardent personal friendship with the leaders of the party opposed to him. He counted such men as the late Vice-President Hendricks and the late Joseph E. McDonald as among his warm personal friends, and in the Senate he has no enemies among the Democratic members.

His genial and kindly nature is a part of him. His charities—and they are numerous—are, like all his other acts, done without ostentation or display. He is not a rich man, as riches are counted in these money-making days, but he has been successful enough in his law practice to accumulate a modest fortune. He lives a home life, and is most delighted and happy when he is in his home, surrounded by his wife and children.

His characteristics are frankness, sincerity, friendliness and seriousness. He is frank and open in all his dealings; frank in his friendships, and when engaged in the practice of the law he always dealt frankly with the court and jury. In all his discussions before the public, whether it is of the political

issues before the people or one of the great questions arising in the Congress, he is frank in his statements of his own views and of the views of those who oppose him. He never misstates a proposition or garbles the words of another.

No one ever doubts his sincerity. He gives no occasion for doubts of that kind. He is never dogmatic as to the correctness of his own views, but every one accords him the meed of perfect sincerity in presenting them and in believing in them. His evident sincerity impresses every one who listens to him, and it is one of his marked characteristics.

He deals with all matters of life, private or public, seriously. With him there are no trifling things in life. Every question that calls for his attention is given the most serious consideration. In his public career he has many calls for endorsements of individuals for office. He never gives such endorsements lightly. The public service, to him, is a matter of great moment. He believes that the people of America are entitled to the best public servants that can be obtained and entitled to the best work such servants can give, hence he is never found urging the appointment of unfit men for office. He takes a like serious view of party politics. * Party organizations are the great methods by which the people express their views on public affairs, and the issues before them affect the welfare of the people and the Government for good or for bad, hence they are serious

questions. He deals with them as serious questions, ever using all his influence to elevate partisanship and party methods. He stands for the highest type of purity at the ballot box, purity in all the relations between parties and the people. He is a foe to deceptions, either in platforms or in discussions of political questions. He has often said he would rather go down to political defeat than to win a victory that was in the least degree tainted by trickery, fraud, corruption or deception, and he says this so earnestly and carries it out so completely in all his actions that those who know him know he is sincere.

Senator Fairbanks has never been a "trimmer." It is not in his nature. There have been times in his political and public career when a weaker man would have trimmed his sails to the popular breeze, but Mr. Fairbanks turned a deaf ear to popular clamor and did what he believed was right. His senatorial career furnished two notable examples of this. When Mr. McKinley assumed the reins of government the country was stirred to its depths over the wrongs in Cuba, and from every section came an almost imperative demand for the recognition of the Cuban independents, even though it would involve a war with Spain. This feeling was very strong in Indiana, his own State, and his personal and political friends urged him to unite with the extreme wing in Congress. To have done so would have rendered him extremely popular, but he preferred to stand for

the exhaustion of every peaceable means to avoid war.

The other occasion referred to was when the question of providing a revenue for Porto Rico was under consideration. The cry that "the Constitution follows the flag," swept over the country. It was heard on almost every tongue. Once more his friends besought him to take what was so evidently the popular side. He was candidly told that if he took the other side of that question it would ruin him politically. Firm in his convictions of what was right and best, he refused to trim his sails to the popular breeze. He not only took a stand in opposition to the advice of his friends, but he made one of his boldest and ablest speeches in favor of the views he had espoused.

When in 1896 he was just entering on a wider political life than he had hitherto occupied there was an opportunity the political trimmer or wabblers would have delighted in. The whole country seemed to be inoculated with the virus of financial heresy. In Indiana free silver was not only the popular issue with the Democrats, but it had invaded the Republican ranks and counted thousands of supporters in that party. Mr. Fairbanks was then a candidate for the United States Senate. To most of the leaders in Indiana it looked like political suicide to declare openly against free silver. To Mr. Fairbanks was assigned the duty of drafting the financial plank for the State platform. He could have evaded it, and would have evaded it had he been a weaker man. He

prepared a plank not only strenuously opposing free silver, but practically declaring in favor of a gold standard. He was urged again and again by the party leaders and by those who expected to have places on the ticket not to push it, but he clung to his work, and it was finally adopted by the convention. This was one of the first declarations of the Republican party in favor of the gold standard.

What Senator Fairbanks said of the late Judge Gresham and of the late Senator Morton can well be applied to himself. Of Senator Morton he said:

"He was a total stranger to the arts of the demagogue. He was too great to descend to intrigue or to desire success otherwise than through the merit and force of his cause. . . . His hands were clean, his integrity incorruptible."

Of Judge Gresham he said:

"He was a man of positive character. He was not negative and colorless. He possessed convictions and adhered to them with resolution. He was not, however, a dogmatist, but was always ready to hear whatever might be urged against the integrity of his own views. . . . He was always natural; never sought or pretended to be what God had not made him. He never tried to veneer his true character or obscure it by cheap meretricious acts."

Senator Fairbanks has always had a high standard of duty and of life. He would no more falter in the face of duty than a soldier would falter and hang

back in the face of the enemy on the battlefield. All his acts and all his speeches show this.

He is averse to political wrangles and never invites them. In this he is unlike both Blaine and Morton. As Ingersoll said, Blaine was like a warrior, "a plumed knight," and he always went into a political battle with eagerness. Morton delighted in a political contest, for there the sledge-hammer blows of his logic caused victims to fall all around him. On the other hand, Mr. Fairbanks prefers to put party wrangling aside, if possible, when it comes to discussing questions of state or matters pertaining to the welfare of the people.

He is a lover of books. By nature and training he is a student, but he reads much of the literature of the day.

In his speeches he appeals to the reason and not to the emotions or sentiments of his hearers. He is never ornate, never indulges in flowers of rhetoric, never in metaphors, figures of speech, nor startling similes. He never culls from the classics and never jests. No anecdotes or stories are found in any of his public speeches. He is never vehement in declamation or gesticulation. He never gets on the mountain top. With him any question that is worthy of being debated is worthy of being treated seriously.

He is candid and open in the statement of his position, and there is no equivocation or evasion. He makes his statements clearly and every one can readi-

ly know the position he takes. He indulges in no waste of words, and never says anything that has to be explained, apologized for or withdrawn. He is never bitter, never vindictive. No irony or sarcasm is to be found in his speeches, and he never utters a word that would wound an opponent. He credits those who hold views in opposition to his own with honesty and integrity of purpose, and he respects their views. He addresses the Senate as he would address the court, reinforcing his argument with authorities and the opinions of others. He tries to convince, not to captivate.

He is never a pessimist, but always optimistic, especially when talking of the future greatness and power of the United States. He would never have advocated the seizure of Porto Rico or the Philippines merely to extend territory, but when those islands fell to us as the result of a war he was optimistic enough to believe there was no danger to either the institutions or the power of the country in our holding them. He could not see ruin to us in raising our flag in the Pacific.

He rose rapidly in the confidence and respect of his party. He became a factor in national politics in 1896. So greatly had he grown in public confidence by 1901 that leaders of his party in various sections of the country began to talk of him as a logical and fitting successor to President McKinley. He was frequently referred to in the public press as one who

would, in all probability, be selected. When Mr. Roosevelt succeeded on the death of the President, it was natural the party should look to him to be his own successor. Then it was the selection of a candidate for the second place presented itself to the party, and the name of Mr. Fairbanks was on almost every tongue. He was deluged with letters urging him to become a candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

Mr. Fairbanks is strong before the people because of his honesty and integrity in public and in private life; because of his entire consecration to duty; because of his absolute and implicit belief in the sound judgment of the people, the final and sole arbiters in all questions affecting the government. He believes that the people, in the end, will see the right and approve it; that loyalty to the best interests of the Nation is inherent in the people; that this is a Republic, a Republic of the people, and that when the people have thoroughly considered any question of policy and given their verdict thereon, their judgment should be carried out to the end. He knows that if he does well the people will applaud, and if he does ill they will condemn. He is of the people and he trusts in their unerring judgment.

CHAPTER XVI.

HE IS NOMINATED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

IT IS rare in the political life of any man that a nomination to such a high office as Vice-President of the United States comes wholly unsought, and with the entire unanimity of his party friends. Such a distinction came to Senator Fairbanks on the 23d of June, 1904. For months his name had been prominently coupled with that high office. He did not seek the nomination. He had still five years to serve as Senator, a position to which his party in Indiana had twice elevated him. The floor of the Senate was a fitting place for the display of his talents. He had achieved the position there of being one of the party leaders. He was looked upon as a conservative and wise legislator. He loved the duties of Senator, and although he regarded the office of Vice-President of the Republic as one of very high distinction and honor, he would not seek it.

Many of his ardent friends in different parts of the country, and many of the party leaders, looking to the advantage of the party, urged him to announce himself as a candidate for the place. In his own

State his party friends were opposed to it, and advised him to say he would not accept the nomination if tendered to him. This he declined to do, holding that it was a matter that could only be determined in the light of public duty. They urged upon him that his State had sent him to the Senate and had a right to demand that he remain there; that his seven years of service had given him an experience that another could only obtain by a like period of service; that the State needed his services in the Senate. These arguments came from the friends who had stood with him through all his political life, and it was felt by the Senator that such expressions deserved to be weighed carefully.

To all he frankly said his preference was to remain in the Senate, but, as he would not give encouragement to those who were advising him to become an avowed candidate for the place, so he would not lightly make up his mind to openly decline it if tendered by the party. The feeling in favor of the nomination of Mr. Fairbanks so increased that, by the time the convention met, hardly any other name was mentioned in connection with the second place on the ticket. The Senator was one of the delegates-at-large from Indiana, and in that capacity attended the convention. Wherever he was present he was received with an enthusiasm that showed the hold he had on his party. So strong was the feeling in his favor, and that his name would add strength to the

ticket, that his Indiana friends at last gave consent to his accepting the nomination if the convention should so desire.

The Republican National Convention of 1904 was a great gathering. Many of the most notable men of the Nation were present as delegates. They were there to lend their potent aid in shaping the declaration of principles; to give their adherence to the patriotic administration of President Roosevelt, and to join in declaring him the unanimous choice of the party to succeed himself in that high office. Mr. Roosevelt was duly named as the candidate for President and the time came to choose his associate on the ticket. Senator Dolliver, of Iowa, rose, amid great enthusiasm, and spoke as follows:

“Gentlemen of the Convention:

“The National Republican convention, now nearly ready to adjourn, has presented to the world a moral spectacle of extraordinary interest and significance. It is a fine thing to see thousands of men representing millions of people, fighting in the political arena for their favorite candidates, and contending valiantly for the success of contradictory principles and conflicting doctrines. Out of such a contest, with its noise and declamation, its flying banners, its thunder of the captains and the shouting, the truth often secures a vindication and the right man comes out victorious. Sometimes, however, wisdom is lost in the confusion, and more than once we have seen the

claims of leadership swallowed up in contention and strife.

"We have the honor to belong to a convention whose constituency in every State and Territory, and in the islands of the sea, has done its thinking by quiet firesides, undisturbed by clamor of any sort, and has simplified our responsibilities by the unmistakable terms of the credentials which we hold at their hands.

"At intervals of four years I followed the banner of James G. Blaine through the streets of our convention cities, from Cincinnati to Minneapolis, and did my full share to see that nobody got any more applause than the great popular leader, who had captured my enthusiasm long before I was old enough to vote.

"Not even his defeat served to diminish the hold which our champion had upon the hearts of those who followed him, and it has required a good deal of experience to enable them to understand the lesson of his defeat. Other conventions have met to settle the fate of rival chieftains; we meet to record the judgment of the Republican millions of the United States.

"They have based their opinion upon the facts of the case. They have not concluded that we have the greatest President of the United States since Washington. They know how to measure the height and depth of things better even than Professor Bryce,

when he deals with the superlatives which find their way into all well-regulated banquets after midnight. They have not forgotten the grave of Lincoln, which has become a shrine for the pilgrimage of the human race. They remember still the day when the canon of Westminster opened the doors of that venerable monument to admit the name of the silent American soldier into the household of English spoken fame.

“They have passed no vainglorious judgment upon the career of Theodore Roosevelt. They have studied it with sympathetic interest from his boyhood, as he has risen from one station of public usefulness to another, until at length, before the age of forty-five, he stands upon the highest civil eminence known among men. Their tears fell with his as he stood in the shadow of poor McKinley’s death, and as a part of his oath of office asked the trusted counselors who stood by the side of the fallen President to help him carry forward the work which he had left unfinished, and while his administration deserved the tribute which it received in this convention from the eloquent lips of our temporary chairman, it is because he has executed in a manly way the purpose of the Republican party and interpreted aright the aspirations of the American people. Nor can there be a doubt that, if in the years to come, he shall walk steadfastly in the same path, he will be numbered among the great leaders of the people who have given dignity and influence to their highest office.

“But the judgment of the Republican party is not only united upon its candidate—it is unanimous also, upon the fundamental principles for which it stands. I think the convention has been fortunate in harmonizing the minor differences which unavoidably arise in a country like ours, where speech is free and where printing is free. We stand together on the proposition that the industrial system of the United States must not be undermined by a hostile partisan agitation, and that whatever changes are necessary in our laws ought to be made by the friends, or at least the acquaintances, of the protective tariff system.

“The things upon which we are agreed are so great and the things about which we differ are so small, that we are able, without sacrificing sincere Republican convictions, anywhere, to unite as one man in defense of our common faith.

“We stand at the beginning of the new era, and while the Republican party leans upon the counsel of its old leaders, it has not hesitated to summon to the responsibilities of public life the young men who have been trained under their guidance to take up the burdens which they are ready to lay down, and finish the work which comes to them as an inheritance of patriotism and duty. That is the significance of the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, and that is the explanation of the call which has been made by the Republican party without a dissenting voice upon

Charles W. Fairbanks to stand by the side of the President in the guidance and leadership of the Republican party.

"While he has not sought to constrain the judgment of the convention, directly or indirectly, he has kept himself free from the affectation which undervalues the dignity of the second office in the gift of the American people, and I do not doubt that his heart has been touched by the voluntary expression of universal good will which has already chosen him as one of the standard-bearers of the Republican party of the United States.

"The office has sought the man, and he will bring to the office the commanding personality of a statesman equal to any of the great responsibilities which belong to our public affairs. A leader of the Senate, the champion of all the great policies which constitute the invincible record of the Republican party during the last ten years, his name will become a tower of strength to our cause, not only in his own State, but everywhere throughout the country. A man of affairs, the whole business community shares the confidence which his political associates have reposed in him from the beginning of his public life. The quiet, undemonstrative, popular opinion, which has given the Republican party a platform upon which all Republicans can stand with no dissenting voice, here or anywhere, has long since anticipated the action of this convention in adding to the national

Republican ticket the name of Senator Fairbanks, of Indiana.

"I take pleasure in presenting his name, honored everywhere throughout the United States, as our candidate for Vice-President."

When Senator Chauncey M. Depew rose to second the nomination of Mr. Fairbanks, on the part of New York, a delegate inquired whether he had had his dinner. Mr. Depew took this inquiry for the text of his speech, and said:

"My friend wants to know if I have had my dinner, but what I am about to say is in behalf of dinners for the American people. I can not help contrasting, in listening to the eloquence with which we have been privileged this morning, what will be the difference when our Democratic friends meet on the 6th of July to go through with their duty of nominating candidates and adopting a platform. We here have been unanimous upon our candidates, all agreed upon our principles, all recognizing and applauding our great statesmen, living and dead, and agreeing with them, while on the other hand in that convention there will be the only two living exponents of Democratic principles.

"On the one side will be their only President rising and saying 'be sane,' while on the other side, in opposition, will come their last candidate for President, saying 'be Democrats.' The two are incompatible.

"I present just two thoughts which it seems to me in the flood of our oratory have been passed by. There has been criticism of this convention that it was without enthusiasm, perfunctory and would occupy little place in history. But this convention is an epoch-making convention, because it marks the close of fifty years of the life of the Republican party. That fifty years, if we should divide recorded time into periods of half a century, the fifty years from 1854 to 1904, would concentrate more that has been done in this world for the uplifting of humanity than all the half centuries which have preceded. While this half century has done so much in electricity, so much in steam, so much in invention, so much in medicine, so much in surgery, its one distinguishing characteristic will be that it was the half century of emancipation—emancipation all over the world, led mainly by the American thought and the success of the American experiment.

"But when for our purpose we look back over this half century we find that the best part of it, that which has made most for the welfare of our country, most for emancipation, has been done by the Republican party.

"In 1854 James Buchanan, at Ostend, issued the manifesto to buy or conquer Cuba for slavery, and in 1900 William McKinley set up Cuba as an independent republic. In 1854 the first cable flashed under the Atlantic Ocean, and this tremendous dis-

covery came from a Republican President who was the only President since the formation of the country who had presided over the destinies of a free people, with freedom in the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence was no longer a living lie.

“Now, it was only sixty years ago, ten years preceding the birth of the Republican party, when that great wit and great writer, Sydney Smith, said: ‘Who reads an American book? Who eats off an American plate? Who drinks out of an American glass? Who wears American clothes? Who buys anything American?’ The answer is that from the figures coming yesterday from the Department of Commerce we discover that this year \$450,000,000 of manufactured articles from American looms and factories go into European markets to compete with the highly organized industrial nations of the world in their own market places.

“An American can start and go around the world and not leave his country. He can cross the Pacific to Yokohama in a Northern Pacific steamer. He rides through Japan and China under American electrical appliances. He goes six thousand miles across the Siberian Railway in American cars drawn by American locomotives. In Spain alongside of their orange groves he finds California oranges. In France he drinks wine, labeled French, which has come from San Francisco. He crosses the Nile upon a bridge

made in Pittsburg. In an English hotel he goes to his room near the roof in an elevator manufactured in New York. His feet are on carpets made in Yonkers. On the banks of the Ganges he reads his cables by an electric light run by an American and made in America. He goes under old London in tunnels dug by and run by American machinery and American genius, and then he goes to Newcastle and finds that the problem which has been unsolvable forever, coals—American coals are carried to Newcastle.

“Now, my friends, while we represent the positive, the convention which meets on the 6th of July represents that element unknown heretofore in American politics, the opportunist. It is waiting for bankruptcy, waiting for panic, waiting for industrial depression, waiting for financial distress.

“There was an old farmer upon the Maine coast who owned a farm with a rocky ledge running out into the ocean called Hurricane Point. On it ships were wrecked, and he gathered his harvest from the rocks, and, in his will, he wrote: ‘I divide my farm equally among my children, but Hurricane Point shall be kept for all of you forever, for while the winds blow and the waves roll the Point will provide.’

“But we have put a lighthouse on Hurricane Point, a lighthouse of protection, with a revolving light shedding gold over the ocean, and American com-

merce is going and coming in absolute safety. And now, gentlemen, my second thought.

"It seems to me that we have not given enough importance to the office of Vice-President of the United States. It was not so among the fathers. Then of the two highest potential Presidential possibilities, one took the Presidency, the other the Vice-Presidency. But in the last forty years, ridicule and caricature have placed the office almost in contempt. Let us remember that Thomas Jefferson; let us remember that old John Adams; let us remember that John C. Calhoun and George Clinton and Martin Van Buren were Vice-Presidents of the United States.

"Eighty millions of people want for Vice-President a Presidential figure of full size. He presides over the Senate, but he does more than that. He is the confidant of the Senators. He is the silent member of every committee. He is influential in that legislation which originates and which is shaped in the Senate, and now that we have become a world power, now that treaties make for either our prosperity, our open door, or our closed harbors, he is necessarily an important factor in the machinery of the government.^c By the tragic death of McKinley the Vice-President was elevated to the Presidency, and today for the first time we have renominated the Vice-President who thus came to be the President.

"All that has been said here about Theodore Roosevelt—all of which is true—the highest tribute to him

is that the American people, for the first time, unanimously demand a Vice-President shall be the elect of their choice for the Presidency of the United States.

"Now, gentlemen, it is my privilege, in looking for Vice-Presidential possibilities, to announce what you all know, that we have found a Vice-Presidential candidate of full Presidential size.

"Everybody knows that, if the towering figure of Theodore Roosevelt had been out of this canvass, one of the promising candidates before this convention for President of the United States would have been Charles W. Fairbanks. And New York, appreciating his great ability as a lawyer, appreciating the national name he has made for himself as a Senator, appreciating his dignity, his character and his genius for public affairs, seconds the nomination of Charles W. Fairbanks for Vice-President of the United States."

Speaking for Ohio, Senator Foraker said:

"Gentlemen of the Convention:

"We have come here to do three things: Make a platform, name the next President of the United States, and also name the next Vice-President of the United States; we have done two of these things, and are about to do the third. And we have done both of the things we have done well.

"The platform we adopted yesterday has already met the favorable judgment of the American people. It is the counterpart of the best the Republican party

has ever adopted, and, if you would know how high is that tribute, recall the fact now of which every Republican may justly feel proud—that, of all the many platforms we have made in the fifty years of our party life, we would not today strike one of them from our record if we could.

“Further than that, there is not a plank, or a declaration, or a thought, or an idea in one of them that we would erase if we had the power. From the platform of 1856 down to that one adopted yesterday, all are as solid as a gold dollar.

“If you would know what a tribute is here to Republican patriotism, wisdom and statesmanship, recall the great questions with which the Republican party has dealt in making these platforms. They are all imperishable contributions to the political literature of our day.

“If you would know the measure of our success, read also of the damageable failure our Democratic friends have met with in making their platforms.

“While we are today proud of the success of ours, our Democratic friends can not find one platform they have made in all this period that does not have some features at least of which they are now ashamed. Not all of them, perhaps, because there are some Democrats who can not be ashamed of anything.

“And on the platform made yesterday we have placed our candidate who is to head the ticket. It may not have been as easy in some of the conventions

that have gone before to name a Republican candidate for the Presidency as it was for us to name our candidate here today.

"In former years, when we have been called upon to choose between such great leaders as Conkling and Morton and Blaine and Garfield and Harrison and McKinley, they have weighed so evenly, their claims for merit were so equal, that it was a harder task. But this time one man stood head and shoulders above all others of our Republican leaders, as has been well said from this platform, by American people before we took our seats in this convention.

"On the ticket with him, as his associate for the Vice-Presidency, we want to place a man who represents in his personality, in his belief, in his public service, in his high character, all the splendid record the Republican party has made; all the great declarations of the former platforms, and a man who will typify, as the leader of our ticket will, the highest ambition and the noblest purposes of the Republican party of the United States.

"I will not detain you with an eulogy of Senator Fairbanks, beyond simply saying that, to all who know him personally as those of us do who have been closely associated with him in the public service, he meets all the requirements so eloquently stated by Senator Depew. He is of the Presidential caliber. He has all of the qualifications for the high office for which he has been named, and, by all of these potent

considerations, in the name of the forty-six delegates of Ohio, I second the nomination of Senator Fairbanks."

Governor Pennypacker, of Pennsylvania, speaking for his State, said:

"The Republican party held its first convention in that city of western Pennsylvania which in energy, enterprise and wealth rivals the great mart on the shores of the inland lake, where, after the lapse of nearly half a century, we meet today. Pennsylvania may well claim to be the leader among Republican States. The principles which are embodied in the platform of the party as we have adopted it are the result of the teachings of her scholars and statesmen.

"Her majorities for the nominees of that party are greater and more certain than those of any other State. She alone, of all the States, since the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, has never given an electoral vote against a candidate of the Republican party for the presidency. She is unselfish in her devotion. During the period of half a century that has gone no son of hers has been either President or Vice-President. She has been satisfied, like the Earl of Warwick, to be the maker of kings. She has been content that you should have regard to the success of the party and the welfare of the country, rather than to the personal interests of her citizens.

"The waters of the Ohio, rising in the moun-

tains of Pennsylvania, roll westward, bearing fertility and men to the prairie lands of Indiana. The thought of Pennsylvania turns with kindred feeling toward the State which has produced Oliver P. Morton, Benjamin Harrison and the brave Hoosiers who fought alongside of Reynolds on the Oak Ridge at Gettysburg. She well remembers that when her own Senator, who did so much for the Republican party and whose wise counsels, alas, are missing today, bore a commission to Washington, he had no more sincere supporter than the able and distinguished statesman, who then, as he does now, represented Indiana in the United States Senate. Pennsylvania, with the approval of her judgment and with glad anticipation of victory in her heart, following a leader, who, like the chevalier of France, is without fear and without reproach, seconds the nomination for the Vice-Presidency of Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana."

With entire unanimity and great enthusiasm the convention declared that its choice for Vice-President of the United States was Charles W. Fairbanks, and the work of the convention was over.

CHAPTER XVII.

HOW HIS NOMINATION WAS RECEIVED AT HIS HOME.

ON Saturday, June 25th, Senator Fairbanks returned to his home at Indianapolis. Before he left Chicago he received hundreds of telegrams from all parts of the country congratulating him on his nomination, and the party because of his selection by the convention. Many of these were from his friends in Indiana, quite a number being from prominent Democrats. At every station on his way to Indianapolis he was greeted by large and enthusiastic crowds, and at several points he made brief speeches.

At Indianapolis his fellow-citizens of all parties arranged to give him a hearty welcome. When the train arrived at the Union Station it found a great throng awaiting it. The station was literally packed with people, giving ample evidence of the high regard in which the Senator is held by the people of his own city. The residence of the Senator is two miles from the station, but along the entire course the crowds gathered to give him a warm and cordial home-coming. In the absence of himself and Mrs. Fairbanks the friends had taken possession of the

residence and fittingly decorated it for the occasion.

At the residence and around it several thousand citizens gathered, and the welcome they gave the distinguished party was as cordial and enthusiastic as that which had greeted them at the station. Speeches were made by Senator Beveridge, Hon. John W. Holtzman, Mayor of the city, Hon. John W. Kern, and Hon. John L. Griffith, the Mayor and Mr. Kern being two of the Democratic leaders of the State.

Mayor Holtzman welcomed the returning candidate in the following generous words:

“Senator Fairbanks—The people of your home city are here, irrespective of party, to welcome you to your home and to congratulate you upon the great honor which your political party has conferred upon you and which we feel was a distinction and honor well earned by your fidelity and steadfastness to those principles which your party represents, and above that, by the upright life and career which you have made for yourself as citizen and statesman.

“Indiana has been the political battleground in many campaigns and her sons have been honored by both great political parties.

“The first one was paid to our great State in the nomination of our distinguished fellow-citizen, the late George W. Julian, who was nominated for Vice-President by the Free Soil Democracy, in 1852. Later the Republican party conferred this honor upon Schuyler Colfax, a distinguished editor of our State,

and in 1876 the Democratic party selected for the Vice-Presidency that distinguished, genial and most lovable citizen and statesman, Thomas A. Hendricks. In 1880 the Democratic party again came to Indiana to select a candidate for Vice-President and in that year nominated that able financier and statesman, William H. English.

"In 1884 the Democratic party, with its eye still upon the State of Indiana, again selected to grace the second place upon the ticket our beloved Hendricks, and in 1888 the Republican party selected as its standard-bearer that distinguished soldier and statesman of Indiana, Benjamin Harrison, and in this year of our Lord, the Republican party has wisely come to the Hoosier State to make its selection for the Vice-Presidency, and I hope it is not out of place for me to say here that it is my wish that the Democratic party may exercise the same wisdom at its convention in St. Louis.

"Indiana has sons in each party who would grace either the first or second place upon either ticket, and may I say without giving offense that we would all have been much better pleased had the Republicans at Chicago made the ticket read the other way.

"I am sure that every citizen in Indiana deserving of the name of Hoosier was proud when any of her citizens were honored by either of the great parties.

"I am glad to see that, notwithstanding all of the bitterness which has entered into past campaigns, we

are big enough and broad enough to lay aside our partisan feeling and to tender a reception to one of our citizens who has won distinction for himself which has been recognized by the party with which he has been affiliated.

"We have a right to differ as to governmental policies. We have a right to fight our political battles to a finish, but it is well not to let our bitterness interfere with that pride which we should have in our fellow-townsmen in any prominence or distinction or honor which they may attain or which may be bestowed upon them. I am proud to live in a community where citizens turn out to tender a reception, irrespective of party, to one who has won distinction.

"We should not allow ourselves to be controlled by the narrowness of party spirit. To be able to meet at all times the common amenities of life and to do the gracious and courteous things, is the sign of progress toward that culture which every community should attain.

"Let us remember that we do not lose our party allegiance in doing honor to one who has distinguished himself, and I am sure that Indianapolis has a citizenship which is broad enough to extend a similar reception to my very dear friend, the Hon. John W. Kern, when he returns from St. Louis with the Vice-Presidential nomination in his pocket.

"In the name of the people of the city of Indianapolis, I greet you, with the hope that such gifts and

honors as lie within the power of the party to which you belong may be bestowed upon you."

Hon. John L. Griffiths spoke as follows:

"In the civilization of Greece the city was the unit of power—Athens was the State. Enough of the Greek spirit survives to cause us to rejoice when an unusual honor comes to the city in which we live. It seems in a sense to reflect honor upon each member of a community when one of their number is selected for special distinction because of what he has done in literature or art, in science or philanthropy or statesmanship. This gathering tonight of friends and neighbors is to testify to their appreciation of Charles W. Fairbanks, not as a party leader, but as a citizen. It is a beautiful and spontaneous tribute to the worth of a man. In the stress of the campaign he will often recall, I doubt not, these homelike surroundings and this vast host of men and women, many of whom for an hour at least, forget their party ties in their eagerness to bear witness to the high personal esteem in which they hold their friend. Political animosities are not as deep-rooted or as bitter as they often appear to be. It is well that this is so. No party can arrogate to itself all the purity and ability, all the patriotism and courage which are to be found in the country at any one time. We realize more and more that chance plays little part in the successes of men. To achieve greatly one must labor intelligently and continuously.

"The nominee of the Chicago convention for the Vice-Presidency has not been the favorite of fortune. He has fairly and justly earned all the honors which have been bestowed upon him. He comes close to the people because his life has been rooted in their lives.

"His nomination is a recognition of the growing power of the great middle West—of that section of our common country where the people are peculiarly frugal and resourceful, industrious and thrifty, with sturdy notions of honesty, where they care less for cleverness than for integrity and place a higher value upon character than they do upon wealth.

"Charles W. Fairbanks was made one of the standard bearers of his party because he has always had 'a healthy conscience' in public matters and has been actuated by an overpowering sense of duty. He has felt as Lincoln did, that in the tides of feeling which sweep and surge about a public man, he must keep some consciousness of being somewhere near the right. He must keep some standard or principle fixed within himself. He has been diligent in the business of his Government. He has never regarded the holding of an office as a pastime, but has keenly felt the high responsibility which a lofty trust imposes. He has always had 'a sweet and just tongue,' speaking what he had to say temperately but forcibly. No public utterance of his can be recalled in which he ever abused a political opponent. He has won his

way into the hearts of men by traveling a pathway too seldom traversed—the pathway of gentleness and fairness and moderation.

“His nomination is a reminder that the early traditions of the Republic have not entirely disappeared. Again we have the inspiring spectacle of the office seeking the man. Whenever this occurs, now as in the days of Washington and Jefferson and the elder Adams, it is the capable man that is sought—the man who by training, education, experience and ability is best equipped for the office.

“The nomination of Charles W. Fairbanks has also shown, in this age so much given to speech-making, that silence is still golden.

“General Lafayette, upon his return to France, said of Martha Washington, ‘She is the best woman in the world and beloved by all who know her.’ Recently I heard a woman pay this same tribute to the wife who has contributed so much to Senator Fairbanks’ illustrious career. Coming from a woman, the tribute means much more than if spoken by a man.

“In the nomination of the husband we also see an appreciation of the wife, who is the embodiment of all the splendid qualities which beautify and adorn the highest and truest womanhood. Through all the years, Senator and Mrs. Fairbanks, your friends and neighbors wish for both of you peace and joy and happiness, increasing honors and widening fields of usefulness and power.”

Hon. John W. Kern said:

“Senator Fairbanks—To have such a home-coming as this must be to the man of heart and generous sensibilities vastly more gratifying than to be nominated and elected to any office in the gift of the people. One may be nominated and elected to office simply because men prompted by a sense of duty or party loyalty vote their party ticket, but this welcome home from your neighbors of every shade of political belief conveys to you the pleasing fact that your neighbors are your friends, delighting in your preferment and rejoicing because of the high honors of which you are the worthy recipient.

“This meeting proves that Indianapolis is not only a city of homes, but a city of neighbors, and the neighborly spirit of the community was never more strikingly illustrated than tonight, when hundreds of your fellow-citizens, who will fight you tooth and nail on election day, are here in generous rivalry with your most ardent political supporters, as to who may best attest the sincerity of the personal friendship and good will with which you are regarded by all.

“While they recognize in you a foeman worthy the steel of their greatest leaders, they also recognize in you an upright citizen, a genial companion, a neighbor and friend, and so most heartily do they extend to you their congratulations, and their best wishes for your health, happiness and continued personal prosperity.

"It is true, in Indiana, at least, that political differences do not interfere in the slightest degree with personal friendships. The flowers that grow upon our garden walls of party politics are always in bloom. We have shown to the world in many a hard-fought conflict in the past that it is entirely possible for us to fight each other in campaign times like wildcats; and then, after the election, go on drinking out of the same canteen, as if nothing had happened.

"And this, because all realize that our differences of opinions are honest differences, and that our disagreements are only on questions of governmental policy—for when the Government itself is assailed, or the honor of the flag imperiled, all differences are instantly forgotten—and in devotion to the Republic and loyalty to the flag, our people become as indivisible as the sea.

"There are many of us who can not vote for you at the polls, because we do not subscribe to the political creed of which you are a distinguished representative, and we will defeat your ticket if we can, but we will be none the less your friends, wishing you great prosperity in everything save politics.

"The fact is, Senator, and I think I violate no confidence in stating it, that the voters of my party prefer you as Senator rather than any other Republican who might be elected as your successor, and are

loath to give you up before the expiration of the term for which you were elected.

"They feel that your services are really needed in that capacity, both by your country and party, and that you are also needed there as a companion and friend to Senator Beveridge, to throw about him your gentle restraining influence. We all like Senator Beveridge, and as one of Indiana's ablest and most brilliant sons, are proud of him, but we feel that he will do better work by the side of an experienced and staid companion like yourself than he is likely to when hitched up with one of the many colts who will be prancing about trying to get into your senatorial harness even before you have laid it off.

"I therefore assure you that, while we may not be, can not be, for your national ticket, we are nevertheless for you for United States Senator even to the uttermost limit of your term.

"But seriously and in conclusion, Senator Fairbanks, you are to be congratulated, and we, your neighbors, do most heartily congratulate you on your great good fortune. You have made a success of life. You have a delightful home and family; you have received great honors from your State and your party, but better and above all that, you have lived such a life, and so walked amongst men, as to draw to yourself from amongst those who know you best great hosts of personal friends, who are ready on an occasion like this to forget that there are differences

of opinion amongst us, and join together as one man in rejoicing at the new honors which have come to you.

“Without regard to party lines, the people of Indianapolis, your beautiful home city, are one to-night in their heartfelt congratulations to you, and invoking God’s blessings upon you and your household.”

Senator Beveridge greeted his colleague as follows:

“There are few better words in our language than the word ‘home,’ and there is no kinder word than the word ‘welcome.’ If to these another word be added, we have the trinity which makes life worth living, and that third word is the dear word ‘friend.’ These words and all they mean are on our lips to-night, and they are on our lips because they are in our hearts; for we welcome home our friend. We greet him in that solid, earnest faithful way which distinguishes the people of our city and our State. The people of Indiana claim no monopoly of human virtues, but this we know: that nowhere does hospitality, generosity and good fellowship mean more than here within the boundaries of our commonwealth. And when one of Indiana’s sons wins distinction all the people of our State are proud and glad. It is in this spirit that we, his neighbors, gather tonight about the roof tree of our beloved fellow-citizen who comes back to us crowned with an honor conferred upon him by men from all over the Republic. The pride we

feel in him, the gratitude which is in our hearts to those who placed this laurel upon his brow, is that of brothers and sisters of a family. In a certain sense we feel that we share in the high favor which has been conferred upon him. For we live right beside him. For years we have gone with him about the walks of the day's business; for years been favored by his genial presence; for years his perfect life has been to us all an example and inspiration. So, as friends and neighbors we take him by the hand tonight with the grasp of that real welcome better spoken by the touch of hand than by the sound of words. This assemblage assures him again of what he has always known and always may know: that he is surrounded now as he will be hereafter by the friendship of the people among whom he lives. One of the greatest gifts which the Father can bestow on any human being is the treasure of friendship; and this treasure Senator Fairbanks has in noble measure.

"The law of compensation is universal, and no honor comes to man without corresponding duties. Into the arduous work to which my eminent colleague is now immediately called he will have the inspiration of the hearty good wishes of every man, woman and child in Indiana; and we on our part have the sure knowledge that in it all he will speak and work for what he believes to be best for the Republic. In this he will be merely a type of Americanism; because all of us, of every party and of every creed,

are hoping and working in our various ways to make and keep this Nation the noblest of all the nations of the earth. As we are given to see the right, each one of us is now doing and will hereafter do his part to keep the fires of American ideals burning on Liberty's altar. In this sense all of us, of every party and of every creed, hail our friend and neighbor as a fellow-American, who, in common with us all, works and wishes for the Republic's good. That our friend does this—that his efforts are devoted to the Nation's weal, that earnest consecration to high purposes distinguishes him—none can better know than I, who for five years have been favored by sitting at his side in that exalted body which his presence has honored and adorned. As friends and neighbors we greet him and wish him good fortune and God-speed."

Senator Fairbanks said:

"Mr. Mayor, Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Kern, Senator Beveridge, my Neighbors and Friends—What can I say? This splendid greeting steals my tongue away. You, good friends, have said more, and no one knows better than I how much more, than I deserve. To you I bring the tribute of a heart outflowing with gratitude for this manifestation of your neighborly respect. I recognize among the vast multitude here many who are not in political accord with me. I honor them none the less for that, for in this great Republic the right of difference with respect to polit-

ical questions goes unchallenged. I do not expect to win all of you to my political beliefs, but I do hope to convince you as to the integrity of my motives and purposes. No word from me tonight will have about it any political partisan flavor—none whatever.

“You have alluded, my friends, to the great National Convention at Chicago, which conferred a distinguished honor upon me. Great as that is, it is incomparable to the honor which I realize in full measure tonight. All of the political parties upon this earth can confer no honor that is comparable to that which I trust I enjoy in the respect and confidence of the people of this city and State. My friends, honor does not abide in place, no matter how exalted it is. It abides in the hearts and the confidence of one’s countrymen.

“This is a splendid city. All that we have been, all that we are and all that we expect to be, is centered here. Her shame is our shame; her honor is our glory. ‘Home,’ says my beloved colleague—yes, in all the vocabulary of men, vast as it is, there is no sweeter and no holier word than that. And you have added to its sweetness tonight. It possesses a splendor and a glory it never possessed before.

“My friend, Mr. Griffiths, in the goodness of his nature, paid a tribute—

[The Senator was so affected at this point that for a time he was unable to proceed. Mr. Griffiths had paid a high tribute to Mrs. Fairbanks.]

"All I can say, is, I thank you for it.

"This State has contributed some of the greatest names ever contributed by your party [turning to Mr. Kern] and ours in American history, and in the glory they brought the State we find an equal cause for rejoicing and gratification. The city of Indianapolis gave to the Nation an eminent United States Senator and a Vice-President, a friend of mine from the time I set foot in Indianapolis—Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks. And there was Joseph E. McDonald, a man of sound judgment, of patriotic purpose, a United States Senator of distinction, and then there was William H. English, who was nominated for the second office in the gift of the people. Their memories are a part of the rich inheritance that not only Democracy enjoys, but Republicanism as well in the State of Indiana.

"My friends, the list is a long one. There is another name to which I would direct your attention. It stood a tower of strength in the perilous days of the Republic. I refer to the Cromwell of American politics, Oliver P. Morton.

"And there was my old-time friend and our old neighbor, Judge Walter Q. Gresham, who rendered conspicuous civic and military service and left us a name without a stain. Yes, and there was another—one who wrote a high record of patriotic, intelligent, conservative service to the Republic—the late General Benjamin Harrison.

“My fellow citizens, we have had a busy day of it. Coming from the city of Chicago, all the way through the State, we have been met by magnificent assemblages of American citizens. Our countrymen, without regard to party distinctions or partisan differences, have come to meet and to greet us. I know very well that when the time for gathering the judgment of the American people at the ballot-box comes, our differences will manifest themselves, but thus far there has been no trace whatever of partisan division. In that fact I find the greatest gratification. It is an assurance to me that, after all, partisans as we are in this great State where political battles are won in the heat of conflict, we are all Americans, Americans all.

“I have only this further to say, my friends: We can make this community better, we can make the city better, if we will. We each and all owe to it, no matter what our political beliefs are, intelligent, devoted service. This State, this community, is a State and community of homes. We practice here those virtues which are the foundation of the fireside, which, in the final analysis, is the very bulwark and strength of the Republic.

“Fellow citizens, permit me to return to you my thanks, and ask for you, in the years that lie before us, the richest blessings that the Almighty can shower upon you, each and every one.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

OFFICIALLY NOTIFIED OF HIS NOMINATION.

ON the 3d of August the committee appointed by the convention to officially notify Senator Fairbanks of his nomination for Vice-President arrived in Indianapolis, headed by Hon. Elihu Root, ex-Secretary of War. The committee was escorted to the residence of the Senator, where a large crowd of citizens had assembled. Mr. Root, speaking for the committee and the convention, said:

“Senator Fairbanks:

“The committee which now waits upon you was appointed by the National Convention of the Republican party at Chicago in June and its agreeable duty is to notify you of your nomination as the Republican candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States for the term to begin on the 4th day of March, 1905.

“We give you formal notice of that nomination with assurance of the undivided and hearty support of the great party which has executed the people’s will in the government of this country for the better part of the last half century. The nomination comes

to you in accordance with the best methods and practices of representative government. It was the result of long and earnest consideration and discussion by the members of the convention. It was not the chance product of an excited hour, and it was not upon the demand of any powerful influence—political or otherwise—constraining the judgment of the delegates. It was not made for the purpose of conciliating possible malcontents, or of swelling the campaign fund of the party. No bargains or intrigues contributed to it. No suppressions of the truth or misleading of the convention as to your principles and opinions were necessary to bring it about. It was the deliberate, informed and intelligent judgment of the delegates from every State and Territory, and it was their unanimous judgment.

“It is a great office to which you are called. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, and George Clinton, and John C. Calhoun, and Martin Van Buren, and many others whose names are illustrious in the history of our country, have filled it. It is an office of high dignity and immediate, ever-present importance. The credit and honor of our country are greatly concerned in the character and conduct of the man who presides over the Senate of the United States—that powerful and august body, of which you are already so experienced, so useful and so honored a member.

“But the Vice-President has other grave duties of imperative obligation. When the people elect a

President under our political system they do not merely select the man for the office; they give their approval to certain controlling principles and policies of government; and the administration, of which the Vice-President is a part, is bound to give effect to these principles and policies. The primary duty of the Vice-President is to be always ready to take up the burden of the Presidency if occasion requires, carries with it the duty to be always ready to continue unbroken the policies which the people have entrusted to the administration for execution. For the due performance of this duty the Vice-President should be familiar with the conduct of affairs by the administration as it proceeds, a part of its counsels and imbued with a knowledge of its labors, its perplexities and its motives, that can come only from intimate association and confidence and sympathy. Too often it has happened that after excited contests for the Presidential nomination the candidate for Vice-President has been selected from the defeated faction for the purpose of appeasing their resentment, and that after election he has remained antagonistic in spirit, and a stranger to the counsels of the President whom he may be called upon to succeed. Happily we are now in no such case. The people would fain see again such relations of sympathy and loyal helpfulness for the public good as existed between President McKinley and Vice-President Hobart; and the personal relations between President Roosevelt and yourself,

your mutual esteem and good understanding assure us that these happy conditions will come again after the 4th of next March. We count upon your wisdom and experience and loyal aid as an element of ever present strength in the coming administration.

“As to the supreme responsibility of the Vice-Presidency in case of succession to the Presidency, we shall all pray, and no one more earnestly than yourself, that it may not come to you. But we are not at liberty to ignore the possibility that it may come. Sad and bitter experience admonishes us that provision for succession to the Presidency is no idle form. Of the last twelve Presidents elected by the people of the United States five—nearly one-half—have died in office and have been succeeded by Vice-Presidents. A serious obligation rests upon political parties which select the candidates between whom the people must choose, to see to it that they nominate men for this possible succession who have the strength of body and mind and character which shall enable them, if occasion comes, to take up the burdens of the great Presidential office, to endure its trying and exhausting demands, to meet its great responsibilities, and with firm hand and clear vision to guide the government of the country until the people can express their choice again.

“Our opponents of the Democratic party have signally failed to perform this duty. They have nominated as their candidate for the Vice-Presidency an

excellent gentleman who was born during the presidency of James Monroe, and who before the 4th of March next will be in the eighty-second year of his age. Before the next administration is ended he will be approaching his eighty-sixth birthday. It is no disparagement of this gentleman, for whom, I believe, we all have the highest respect, to say that he shares the common lot of mortals, and that the election of any man of such great age would furnish no safeguard to the American people against the disaster which would ensue upon the death of a President with a successor not competent to perform the duties of the Presidential office. It is common experience that very aged men, however bright and active they may appear for brief periods, can not sustain long-continued severe exertion. The demands of the Presidential office upon the mental and physical vitality are so great, so continuous and so exhausting as to be wholly beyond the capacity of any man of eighty-five.

“The attempt by such a man to perform the duties of the office would with practical certainty be speedily followed by a complete breakdown both of body and of mind. In contemplating the remote possibility of the election of the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, the people of the country are bound to contemplate also as a necessary result of such an election in case of the President’s death, that others, not chosen by the people, and we know not who,



THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE.

would govern in the name of a nominal successor unable himself to perform the constitutional duties of his office; or worse still, that serious doubt whether the Vice-President had not reached a condition of 'inability' within the meaning of the Constitution would throw the title to the office of President into dispute.

"The serious effect of such an event upon the government and upon the business interests and general welfare of the country and the serious effect even of the continual menace of such an event, must be apparent to every thoughtful mind.

"In your election, on the other hand, this chief requirement will be fully met. In the full strength of middle life you are prepared for the exhausting duties of the Presidency. Your successful and distinguished career, the ability and probity with which you have already discharged the duties of high office, the universal respect and esteem of the people of Indiana who have delighted to honor you, the attachment of hosts of friends throughout the Union—all assure us that you have the character and the ability to govern wisely and strongly should you become President. Many indeed among our people have already turned toward you as a suitable candidate to be elected directly to that great office.

"It is the earnest wish of your party and of many good citizens who have no party affiliations that you shall accept this nomination, and that you shall be

elected in November to be the next Vice-President of the United States. In expressing to you this wish, we beg to add an assurance of our own personal respect, esteem and loyalty."

To this address of Mr. Root Senator Fairbanks replied as follows:

"Mr. Root and Gentlemen of the Committee:

"I thank you for the very generous terms in which you have conveyed the official notification of my nomination for Vice-President of the United States. The unsolicited and unanimous nomination by the Republican party is a call to duty which I am pleased to obey.

"I accept the commission which you bring with a profound sense of the dignity and responsibilities of the exalted position for which I have been nominated. My utmost endeavor will be to discharge in full measure the trust, if the action of the convention shall meet the approval of the American people.

"The platform adopted by the convention is an explicit and emphatic declaration of principles in entire harmony with those policies of our party which have brought great honor and prosperity to our common country, and which, if continued, will bring us like blessings in the future.

"The monetary and economic policies which have been so forcibly reannounced lie at the very foundation of our industrial life, and are essential to the fullest development of our national strength. They

give vitality to our manufactures and commerce, and if impaired or overthrown there would inevitably ensue a period of industrial depression, to the serious injury of the vast interests of both labor and capital.

"The Republican party, since it preserved the integrity of the Republic and gave freedom to the oppressed, never rendered a more important service to the country than when it established the gold standard. Under it we have increased our currency supply sufficiently to meet the normal requirements of business. It is gratifying that the convention made frank and explicit declaration of the inflexible purpose of the party to maintain the gold standard. It is essential not only that the standard should be as good as the best in the world, but that the people should have the assurance that it will be so maintained. .

"The enemies of sound money were powerful enough to suppress mention of the gold standard in the platform lately adopted by the Democratic National Convention. The leader of Democracy in two great national campaigns has declared, since the adjournment of the convention, that as soon as the election is over he will undertake to organize the forces within the Democratic party for the next national contest, for the purpose of advancing the radical policies for which his element of the party stands. He frankly says that the money question is for the present in abeyance. In view of these palpable facts, it is not the part of wisdom to abandon our

vigilance in safeguarding the integrity of our monetary system. We must have not only a President who is unalterably committed to the gold standard, but both houses of Congress in entire accord with him upon the subject.

"In Congress and not with the President rests the supreme power to determine the standard of our money. Though the Chief Executive should oppose, the Congress, acting within its independent constitutional authority, could at any time overthrow or change the monetary standard.

"The wisdom of our protective policy finds complete justification in the industrial development of the country. This policy has become a most vital part of our industrial system and must be maintained unimpaired. When altered conditions make changes in schedules desirable, their modification can be safely entrusted to the Republican party. If they are to be changed by the enemies of the system along free trade lines, uncertainty would take the place of certainty, and a reaction would surely follow to the injury of the wage-earners and all who are now profitably employed. Uncertainty undermines confidence and loss of confidence breeds confusion and distress in commercial affairs.

"The convention was wise not only in its enunciation of party policies, but in its nomination of a candidate for the Presidency. During the last three years President Roosevelt has been confronted with

large and serious questions. These he has met and solved with high wisdom and courage. The charges made against him in the Democratic platform find an irrefutable answer in his splendid administration, never surpassed in all the history of the Republic and never equaled by the party which seeks to discredit it.

"The election of the President is imperatively demanded by those whose success depends upon the continuance of a safe, conservative and efficient administration of public affairs.

"We have an ample record of deeds done, of beneficent things accomplished in the public interest. The vast business of the government has been well administered. The laws have been enforced fearlessly and impartially. The treasury has been adequately supplied with revenue and the financial credit of the Government was never better. Our foreign trade balance continues to increase our national wealth. We have adopted an irrigation policy which will build homes in the arid regions of the West. The Panama Canal, the hope of centuries, is in course of construction, under the sole protection of the American flag.

"We have peace and great prosperity at home and are upon terms of good neighborhood with the entire world. These conditions constitute the strongest possible assurance for the future.

"Later I shall avail myself of a favorable opportu-

nity to submit to you, and through you to my fellow-citizens, a fuller expression of my views concerning the questions now in issue.

“Permit me again to thank you and to express the belief that we may confidently submit our cause to the candid and patriotic judgment of our countrymen.”

CHAPTER XIX.

WHAT IS SAID OF HIM.

ALMOST from the moment of his entering the Senate Mr. Fairbanks has stood among the leaders of that great legislative body. His colleagues have held him in high esteem and recognized his abilities. In 1902 the late Senator Mark Hanna made several speeches in Indiana, and in all of them he referred in high terms to Senator Fairbanks. In his speech at Bunker Hill he said:

"There is no man in the United States Senate who is respected more highly; who has any wider influence nor who has exerted more of that influence in the support of the McKinley administration, and all through his public life, than has Senator Fairbanks. You should be proud of him, and in sending him back to the United States Senate it will be a recognition of his eminent abilities and loyal patriotism to have his majority in the Legislature overwhelming."

At South Bend he said:

"This election is as important to you as if a President was to be chosen, because you are called upon

this fall to say whether you will send back to the United States Senate that splendid Senator, Charles W. Fairbanks, a man who entered that body at a time when trials awaited this country; at a time when the Nation needed good judgment, sound sense and safe legislation; a close friend and adviser of our martyred President; always right on every question, always influential and powerful in debate, and in all things which contributed to that splendid administration of William McKinley, he was a prominent factor; able and attentive to all public duties and to the interests of his constituents at home, he has never failed to support the measures which have contributed so much to the benefit of all."

Before the meeting of the Chicago convention nearly all the Republican papers of the country spoke in terms of high praise of Mr. Fairbanks, and urged his selection for the second place on the ticket. Since the convention the press of the country has spoken at length as to his character and abilities. A few extracts will show the temper of the whole:

Gazette, Pittsburg, Penn.:

"Senator Charles Warren Fairbanks needs no introduction to the public. He has carved out for himself a career that speaks eloquently for his force of character and his standing where he is known. On the floor of the Senate he has been a leader, an advocate of progressive and sound policies. He is a man of affairs. He will make a model Vice-Presi-

dent . . . Senator Fairbanks is in close and intelligent touch with the interests and policies of the Nation."

Record, Troy, N. Y.:

"Senator Fairbanks' Republicanism has never been questioned. His addresses on public policy have always rung true to the keynote of the issues as defined in the party's platforms, and as temporary chairman of the National convention in 1896 it was he who gave form to the issues of the campaign of that year. He has the full courage of his convictions. If he is elected he will without doubt make a dignified and thoroughly capable Vice-President."

News, Providence, R. I.:

"Fortunate indeed is the Republican party in having as its nominee for Vice-President such a wise and progressive statesman as Charles Warren Fairbanks, and President Roosevelt is equally fortunate in having as his associate on the ticket a man of such commanding mental equipment. Not only is Mr. Fairbanks of Senatorial stature, but of Presidential caliber, and he brings to the cause of Republicanism the valuable assistance of his personal popularity in Indiana, a State the electoral vote of which is always included in Democratic calculations of possible victory. He has made an enviable record in the profession of the law and on the higher plane of politics; he has served with distinction in the Senate, where he

revealed himself as the possessor of a long head and a loyal heart, and his sound judgment and familiarity with affairs of national concern can not fail to prove valuable assets of his party."

Times, Troy, N. Y.:

"As presiding officer of the Senate, of which he is now a valuable and respected member, as a counselor of the President and as a representative to our own people and those of other countries of Americanism in high office, Charles W. Fairbanks, the present Senator, will justify the complete wisdom with which the Republican convention placed his name on its ticket."

Express, San Antonio, Texas:

"He is a leader of distinguished ability, a man who is held in high estimation by the whole country, a statesman who would honor any public position."

Gazette, Delaware, Ohio:

"He is a brainy man, an intelligent man, a resourceful man, and a fearless man; he is in the Presidential class. He is a popular man, and his name will add a tower of strength to the ticket."

Hawkeye, Burlington, Iowa:

"Of Senator Fairbanks much that is good can be said. Much has been said of him in times past, and it is all to his credit as a broad, earnest, forceful, loyal Republican. His record is without a stain; his ability above question. He will add a great

and influential strength to the National ticket, and he will give a standing to the office of Vice-President far above the ordinary conception of it."

Union, Springfield, Mass.:

"He will make an ideal presiding officer in stature, dignity and intellect. He will be a most valuable counselor, and in him the Republic will have, as it always should have, a man able and worthy to take his place at the head of the Nation should occasion require."

Republican, Johnstown, N. Y.:

"Throughout his public life his colleagues have reposed great confidence in his wisdom, and his advice has been sought on all important matters."

The Indianapolis Union, the official organ of the Indiana Federation of Trade and Labor Unions:

"There is no man living more approachable, more humble in his simple method of living than Senator Fairbanks. We have seen him get out of his seat in the crowded street car and give it to a tired workingman in his shirt sleeves; we saw him pick up a pickaninny and carry it across the muddy street, soiling his own clothing while others humble in circumstances did not notice the urchin. Committees of organized labor have frequently had occasion to call on the Senator, and they never had occasion to complain on account of red tape methods applied in securing an audience. Senator Fairbanks was the

speaker on Labor Day at Kansas City two years ago. His address was full of his Senatorial utterances upon the immigration and Chinese exclusion questions which have distinguished him.

"In this particular direction one of the influential of American statesmen is in unison with organized labor upon at least two cardinal principles. As a public man, Mr. Fairbanks is open to public criticism, but we are candid in our opinion that, reared as a Republican, brought up amidst environments that have taught him to believe in the tenets of the Republican party, there are few, if any, of his political stature, of his scholarly attainments, personal traits and character, that will more nearly serve the people's best interests as the Vice-Presidential nominee and incumbent chosen by a National Republican convention than Senator Charles Warren Fairbanks."

The United States Tobacco Journal, in its issue of June 25, 1904, in describing the efforts of the cigarmakers of the country to secure a modification of the tariff on leaf tobacco, as proposed in the pending Dingley bill, has this to say in regard to Senator Fairbanks:

"There is no man in public life to whom the tobacco trade is under greater obligations than Senator Fairbanks, the nominee of the Republican party for the Vice-Presidency.

"The United States Tobacco Journal makes this

statement deliberately and will instantly proceed to prove it. . . .

"The two-dollar duty passed triumphantly the House. Only the Senate was then left for a renewed attempt at modification, and untiring in their zeal the Philadelphians commenced to tackle every individual Senator. Almost the first and only one who responded with a receptive mood was Senator Fairbanks, from Indiana. Although then new to his Senatorial toga he had nevertheless acquired a national reputation as the presiding officer of the convention which nominated William McKinley for the Presidency. In his first interview with the Philadelphians the Senator frankly confessed his absolute ignorance of the merits in question; but he signified at the same time his willingness to be instructed. And so he was, and in less than no time he became better informed on it than any other member of Congress. He then went to work with the Finance Committee to consent to a reduction of the duty to \$1.50. It was the stiffest kind of a job the Senator could have undertaken, as the influence of Senator Orville H. Platt, from Connecticut, who naturally supported the \$2 rate in the supposed interest of the Connecticut tobacco growers, seemed to be paramount in that committee. After weeks of wrangling and haggling there was to be one evening a meeting of the Finance Committee at the Arlington Hotel for the final settling of the schedule rates. The Philadelphians were

in a whirl of excitement, crowding the lobby of the hotel and watching for the assembling of the committee. Imagine their surprise, therefore, when they saw Senator Fairbanks coming out of his room in full evening dress, and, instead of entering the committee room, trying to leave the hotel! He was at once besieged with anxious inquiries, to which he answered good humoredly and reassuringly that he was 'commanded' to dinner with the President, whose command, of course, he could not disobey, but he was provident enough to get beforehand the promise of the committee that they would wait with the final fixing of the tobacco rates till he should return. And promptly at 10 o'clock the anxious watchers were rewarded with the return of the Senator, who at once repaired to the committee room, where he succeeded in having both Platt and Dingley defeated in the acceptance of the \$1.50 rate by a majority vote.

"These are the unforgettable services of Senator Fairbanks, now a Vice-Presidential candidate, on behalf of the tobacco trade, the more to be appreciated because he had no immediate constituents to serve in this respect. . . .

"How infinitely more is it, therefore, to the credit of Senator Fairbanks that he placed himself at the service, most disinterestedly and most courteously, of men who were not even his constituents, and of a cause that only remotely affected a not altogether too

large industry in his own State? Such a service should be gratefully remembered."

When Senator Fairbanks' name was being canvassed as a probable nominee for Vice-President the New York Sun was not disposed to cordially support the proposition. A few days after the Chicago convention the Sun quoted several extracts from the maiden speech of the Senator, and followed with these remarks:

"We take this speech by Mr. Fairbanks as an illustration of his habits of thought and direct methods of expression. We choose this particular speech for these reasons:

"1. This was his maiden speech in Congress, and it is on the occasion of a first appearance that an orator is most likely to trim or hesitate or wobble, if he is congenitally and habitually a trimmer, a wabblor or a moral stutterer.

"2. The speech concerned a crucial question of national policy, obtruded a year before it actually went to the arbitrament of war; and historical events since the expressions of these opinions therefore afford a ready test of Senator Fairbanks' prescience, his good sense and his patriotic courage.

"3. It contained a manly appeal to those Republicans in the Senate who had different opinions of duty and policy regarding Cuba, to stand by the St. Louis platform and redeem its pledges honestly, fearlessly, faithfully.

“Do these passages we have quoted above read like the utterances of a weakling? Do they betray a burrowing, Machiavellian, sophistical or an evasive and colorless sort of mind? Not a bit of it! Mr. Fairbanks’ words on this great subject went straight and rang clear.”

**This book is under no circumstances to be
taken from the Building**

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